# Daily Report

# East Europe

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# Daily Report
## East Europe

*FBIS-EEU-95-028* *10 February 1995*

CONTENTS

**NOTICE TO READERS:** All material in this volume previously disseminated in electronic form.

**ALBANIA**

Vote of No-Confidence Against Zhulali Sought *[Tirana TV]* ..... 1
Court Frees Five Albanian Ethnic Greeks *[Tirana Radio]* ..... 1
Greek Spokesman Comments *[Athens Radio]* ..... 1
Release Disappoints Attorneys *[Tirana Radio]* ..... 1

**BULGARIA**

Kozloduy Operators Threaten Strike Over Wages *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 3
Article Criticizes Permission for Overflight [Sofia Radio] ..... 3
Need To Quickly Modernize Army Examined *[TRUD 6 Feb]* ..... 4
Scandal Involving INKO, SDS Officials *[168 CHASA 24 Dec]* ..... 5

**CZECH REPUBLIC**

NATO Membership Seems Long Way Off *[PROGNOSIS WEEKLY 4 Jan]* ..... 7
Definition of Integration Into EU Sought *[PROGNOSIS WEEKLY 4 Jan]* ..... 7
Prime Minister's Political Skill Described *[PROGNOSIS WEEKLY 4 Jan]* ..... 8
Alleged Drug Dealer Linked to U-235 Delivery *[RUDE PRAVO 8 Feb]* ..... 8
Illicit Marketeers Flourish in Republic *[PROGNOSIS WEEKLY 4 Jan]* ..... 9
Democratic Left Founds 'Dissatisfaction' Movement *[DENNI TELEGRAF 7 Feb]* ..... 10

**SLOVAKIA**

Russian Delegation Head on Economic Relations *[Bratislava Radio]* ..... 11
Kovac Responds to Parliament Resolution *[SME 4 Feb]* ..... 11
Foreign Minister Discusses Foreign Policy Issues *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 6 Feb]* ..... 13
Foreign Ministry Denies Arming 'Fundamentalists' *[Bratislava Radio]* ..... 15
Hungarian Coalition Paper on Grievances Summed Up *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 8 Feb]* ..... 15

**HUNGARY**

Horn on Domestic Issues, NATO Membership *[Brussels LIBRE BELGIQUE 9 Feb]* ..... 17
Horn Says Population Supports Accession to EU *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 17
Urges Individual Admission *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 17
Foreign Minister Interviewed on EU, NATO *[Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER 9 Feb]* ..... 18
Official Meets With Minority Representatives *[Budapest TV]* ..... 19
MDF Concerned About Financial Nominations *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 19
Proposed Officials Assessed *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 9 Feb]* ..... 19
Kovacs: Hungary Interested in Swedish Planes *[Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER 8 Feb]* ..... 20

**POLAND**

Oleksy To Decide on Prime Ministership Next Week *[Warsaw Radio]* ..... 22
Government Formation, Likely Ministers Viewed *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 9 Feb]* ..... 22
Comment: Outcome of Latest Political Developments *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 9 Feb]* ..... 23
Aircraft Violate Eastern Border, Polish Airspace *[PAP]* ..... 24

**ROMANIA**

Vacaroiu Denies Rumor of 'Spectacular' Devaluation *[Bucharest Radio]* ..... 25
Spokesman Accuses Bela Marko of Spreading Lies *[Bucharest Radio]* ..... 25

## BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Sandzak Body Says Bosnian Serb Embargo Violated *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 26
SDA Sets Recognition as Precondition for Summit *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 26
Zubak Receives German Contact Group Ambassador *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 26
General Smith's View of Mandate Explained *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 26
SDA Demands UN Secure Release of Reporter *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 27
B-H Serbs 'Borrowed' Electric Power From FRY *[Banja Luka TV]* ..... 27
Helicopters in Action Assumed To Originate in FRY *[AFP]* ..... 27
HDZ Calls For Improved Relations With Muslims *[Mostar Radio]* ..... 28
Izetbegovic Reportedly Orders Eviction of Croats *[TANJUG]* ..... 28
Silajdzic Calls For Humanitarian Airdrops *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 28
Humanitarian Aid Airlift to Sarajevo Resumes *[AFP]* ..... 28
RS Parties Sign Document Calling For Elections *[Belgrade Radio]* ..... 29
Nine Parties Call For Multiparty Elections *[TANJUG]* ..... 29
Karadzic Warns of War, Criticizes Moscow Policy *[AFP]* ..... 30
Karadzic Welcomes Dialogue With Muslims *[SRNA]* ..... 30
UN Reports Serb Offensive To Recapture Areas *[AFP]* ..... 30
Krajisnik Denounces Press Reports on Deputies *[SRNA]* ..... 31
SDS Says Serbs Desire Peaceful Solution *[SRNA]* ..... 31

## CROATIA

Tudjman Calls Government Meeting Over RSK Vote *[AFP]* ..... 32
IDS Claims Ethnic Italians' Rights 'Limited' *[TANJUG]* ..... 32
Turkish, Croatian Officials Hold Talks *[Zagreb Radio]* ..... 32
Adviser Rejects Confederate Element of Z-4 Plan *[VJESNIK 4 Feb]* ..... 33

## THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

ID Card Law Adopted Without Albanian Deputies *[TANJUG]* ..... 34
Albanian Deputies Stage Assembly Walkout *[Tirana TV]* ..... 34
DPS President Regrets Policy on Ethnic Issues *[TANJUG]* ..... 34
RILINDJA Newsman on Deportations by Skopje *[FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT 21 Jan]* ..... 34

## YUGOSLAVIA

### Federal

Lilic Calls For Italian Role in Peace Process *[Turin LA STAMPA 9 Feb]* ..... 38
Yugoslav Red Cross Reports on Past Year's Aid *[TANJUG]* ..... 38

### Serbia

Seselj Advocates 'Partitioned' FYROM *[168 CHASA 6-12 Feb]* ..... 39
Marjanovic: Economic Growth Despite Sanctions *[TANJUG]* ..... 40
Message From Association of Serbs to RSK *[TANJUG]* ..... 40
Opposition to Recognition of Croatia, Bosnia *[Belgrade Radio]* ..... 40
Coalition Urges Coordination With Bosnian Serbs *[TANJUG]* ..... 41

### Kosovo

Rugova Briefs UK Officials on Social Situation *[Tirana TV]* ..... 41

### Vote of No-Confidence Against Zhulali Sought

*AU1002090195 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[Report by Gezim Qinami]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] An audience was held with Defense Minister Safet Zhulali, demanded by the Socialist Party parliamentary group, regarding Zhulali's position during the draft constitution referendum campaign. Deputy Adem Zyberi spoke on behalf of the group. Among other things, Zyberi said that laws were broken during the campaign because it was made known that the military should vote in favor of the draft constitution. In the name of his parliamentary group, he demanded a no-confidence motion against Minister Zhulali.

In his speech, Mr. Zhulali stressed that there was no political campaigning done during the referendum, and no political force was supported. What I backed, he said, was and remains constitutional order in Albania, democracy, and the draft constitution compiled by the parliamentary majority group. [passage omitted]

### Court Frees Five Albanian Ethnic Greeks

*LD0902210795 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1900 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Cessation Court of Albania has found guilty five Albanian citizens of Greek nationality, and decided to set them free on condition. Irakli Sirmo has been free since the December amnesty of Albanian President Sali Belisha. Zef Brozi, the head of the Cessation Court, left in power a decision of the Court of Appeal to ignore the imprisonment servitude. Vangjel Papakristo, Theodhori Beizhani, and Panajot Marto received five years imprisonment on condition. The court deducted one year from the sentence passed on Costa Qirjako. The defense attorneys of the accused valued the decision of the cessation court. The prosecutor, [first name indistinct] Dizdari, considered it to be not grounded on law. The five accused were arrested last spring and sentenced to 35 years imprisonment in October after being found guilty of being in possession of unlawful arms, and of espionage. They are now free. Their arrest caused tension in relations between Albania and Greece. More than 70,000 Albanian emigrants were expelled from Greece and [words indistinct], and Greece (?imposed a veto on] EC aid to Albania. Well-known personalities such as the American President, Bill Clinton, the UN general secretary, Butrus-Ghali, and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl mediated in the Albanian-Greek dialogue.

#### Greek Spokesman Comments

*NC0902150095 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1230 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The four members of the Greek minority in Albania who are cadres of the Omonoia organization were finally released at midnight. This was quite a few hours after the decision by the Tirana Supreme Court of Cassation, which commuted their five-year sentences.

News agencies reported that Theodhoros Bezianis, Evangelos Papakhristos, Panyiotis Martos, and Kostandinos Kiriakou were released in the presence of three U.S. and two Albanian lawyers as well as of a U.S. Embassy representative in the Albanian capital. They were then taken in three taxis to their homes.

An open conflict broke out during yesterday's trial between Supreme Court President Zef Brozi, who demanded their immediate release, and Attorney General (Alus Drakosin) who had objections and filed an appeal against the ruling.

Bezianis and Papakhristos made statements after their release, reiterating that they are innocent and thanking all those who struggled for their release.

Satisfaction was expressed in Athens over the end to the hardship of the four members of the Greek minority. Foreign Ministry spokesman Konstandinos Bikas issued a statement to this effect today, expressing the hope that a new chapter will be opened in Greek-Albanian relations to the benefit of both peoples.

A foreign ministry statement also recalls that the Greek position was that the ordeal of the four leading Omonoia members should end so that the Greek-Albanian dialogue can resume. Following the ruling of Albania's Supreme Court of Cassation and the release of the four ethnic Greeks, the foreign ministry believes this ordeal has ended. However, it is not as yet known whether Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias intends to visit Tirana.

#### Release Disappoints Attorneys

*AU0902193895 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The trial of the five Albanian citizens of Greek nationality who were arrested last April ended at noon yesterday. At all three judicial levels, the five were accused and convicted of espionage activity in favor of Greek secret services, and two of them were convicted of possessing weapons illegally. Although their criminal activity was proven, by ascending from one step of the court to another, their verdict was reduced to a suspended sentence, which was sanctioned at noon yesterday.

Thus, as a newspaper writes today, they were sentenced to five years as spies—but not in prison like everywhere in the world, but at home.

Apart from the four convicted individuals who found themselves free this morning [the fifth was releasedd previously], yesterday's Supreme Court of Appeals verdict has disappointed, or half-disappointed, the sides in

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the judicial conflict. For attorneys, this was an unacceptable political verdict; for Omonoia Chairman Qirjazati, this was a solution, but not the best solution. The prosecution was also disappointed. Immediately after the trial, the attorney of the Supreme Court of Appeals, Mr. Dizdari, told reporters that this is not a verdict based on law. I do not know on what deductions the court and Chairman Brozi based such a sentence, Dizdari said. There is no judicial circumstance at all under which this kind of verdict could be implemented. In fact, Prosecutor Dizdari stressed, not only are there no judicial circumstances that could lead to such a verdict but there are aggravating circumstances related to an intended criminal act of conspiracy that constitutes a serious national and social threat.

Mr. Dervishi, deputy attorney general, declared himself opposed to the verdict, giving the same arguments. For him, the criteria required by law for giving a suspended sentence have not been applied properly, and it is not a prerogative of the Supreme Court of Appeals to change this kind of verdict. These legal considerations forced the General Prosecution Office to first cancel the execution of the verdict, and then to change it again in late hours of the night.

Mr. Dervishi said his institution intends to seek a judicial explanation at the appropriate time, although it is not yet known whether [word indistinct] has acted or not. It seems that the case may soon appear at the plenum of the Supreme Court of Appeals.

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### Kozloduy Operators Threaten Strike Over Wages

*AU0802184095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 8 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Some 120 nuclear operators from the First Energy-Producing Department of the Kozloduy nuclear power station have announced their readiness to strike. They are the specialists who service the nuclear power station's four 440-megawatt reactors. Their demands are of a purely trade union character: namely, a 250-percent wage increase, and an improvement in their working conditions.

### Article Criticizes Permission for Overflight

*AU0902161795 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 3 Feb 95 p 12*

[Article by Plamen Yotinski: "Bulgarian Foreign Policy Makes Timid Attempt To Fly"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 13 February, Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev will have a talk with President Bill Clinton in Washington.

On 13 February, 11 U.S. F-16 fighters should fly over Bulgaria on their way to the Incirlik base in Turkey.

The first will be easy. After all, it is a matter of protocol. As far as the second is concerned, the so-called Bulgarian statesmen experienced a real mental drama, in which they had to answer several questions.

The president, on his own or following someone's advice, views the conduct of foreign policy as one of his duties. However, our Constitution points out that, at least for the time being, Bulgaria is a parliamentary republic. This wretched republic appoints cabinets programmed to fail because of the grave economic situation. However, those cabinets contain a minister of foreign affairs, who for better or for worse must pretend that he protects our national interests also abroad. "Also abroad," because since its liberation from the Turkish yoke (except for very brief lucid moments), Bulgaria has not had its own, real, and consistently applied foreign policy concept of our national interests.

Mr. Zhelev appointed Mrs. Indzhova's cabinet. The caretaker cabinet made many proposals, many of which were useful to different people. Some of the proposals—those related to the appointment of new ambassadors—were addressed to the president. He had the grave task of determining who would be appointed and who would not become an ambassador. Thus, in this case, the entire responsibility lies with the president. However, when the issue of using our airspace as a free corridor is concerned, the responsibility is transferred to the people's representatives. In other words, the issue of the F-16 fighters belongs under "national interests."

The U.S. fighters on route to Incirlik will not change the balance of power along the Turkish-Iraqi border. Furthermore, they could reach their final destination via several alternative routes. Lastly, the parliament's decision on the fighter planes' flight over Bulgaria would hardly affect Mr. Zhelev's reception in Washington.

When, two weeks ago, the president praised his own—or rather the so-called Bulgarian foreign policy—of recent years, he used predominantly rosy colors to paint the picture, and said there would be no change in the basic priorities. There are two shining goals: incorporation into NATO and the Council of Europe. However, for the Bulgarians, it is very unpleasant that those two shining goals are almost invisible at the end of the dark tunnel of problems of everyday life that the average Bulgarian citizens, thirsty for water, must encounter. Perhaps amidst so many bright prospects, we could—accidentally—remember the dark joke: "What is small and dark and knocking at the door?" The answer is taken from real life: "The great and bright future!" And if Gallup would have asked the topical question "Where are we?", we could provide a partly adequate answer: Somewhere between here and Iraq.

Regarding anything related to granting permission for the U.S. group flight to Incirlik, the National Assembly returned the ball to the caretaker cabinet, which was then in its last days. Nevertheless, this procedural issue requires further clarification.

In addition to providing a pleasant atmosphere for the Iraqi Kurds, who have been killing each other over the last three years in internecine wars, the Western military presence at the Anatolia base is being assessed by certain pragmatic commentators as a factor that allows the Turkish Army to attack freely the bases of the separatist Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK] on Iraqi territory. Many Western specialists question the legality of the "security zone" over northern Iraq. Baghdad justly demands the elimination of the zone. It is hardly very prudent to provide the Americans with an air corridor for bringing reinforcement to Incirlik precisely now, on the eve of the upcoming lifting of the embargo. The fact that Turkey succeeded in imposing its own model of protecting its national interests regarding the Kurdish minority (at least 12 million people) could be condemned (by some) and praised (by others).

However, Bulgaria's case is a bit different. Iraq owes us almost $2 billion. Turkey owes us nothing.

The Bulgarian Socialist Party-dominated National Assembly performed a complex but convenient bureaucratic pirouette: First, it returned the issue of the F-16 fighters flight over Bulgaria to the caretaker cabinet, which was on its way out; and then, after waiting for two weeks (Who says miracles in Bulgaria last only three days?)—quietly gave its consent. This allows us to draw at least two conclusions regarding our foreign policy: Through its consent, the current parliament demonstrated that it tends to grant the president his cherished dream: to perform the complex task of washing our motherland's face, mostly abroad. If parliament had refused to grant the permission, it would have prompted

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an adequate reaction on the part of the growing U.S. isolationism and represented a timid attempt to fly under our own power....

February 13 falls on a Monday.... It would have been better had it been a Friday, because then each of our so-called statesmen would have found a necessary justification for his inadequate decision in the fatal nature of the circumstances.

### Need To Quickly Modernize Army Examined

*AU0902210395 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 6 Feb 95 p 13*

[Article by Vasil Lyutskanov: "Army Needs Urgent Modernization, Or We Will Be Hopelessly Behind in One or Two Years"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During the last five years, no new weapons, combat equipment, ammunition, or missiles have been delivered to the Bulgarian Army. At the same time, there has been no updating of the equipment and hardware that the troops already possess. The only things that did not stop being delivered during these years were the special cutting torches supplied from the West to cut up our tanks and big guns. Simultaneously with this, the big boys in NATO transferred their surplus weapons in vast amounts to the southern flank, to modernize NATO's own armies.

Our army has received no new tanks or helicopters since 1985, no armored vehicles since 1987, no planes since 1988 (when we were supplied with multipurpose SU-25 fighters), no antitank, ground-to-air missile installations or radar since 1989, and no naval vessels since 1988. Nevertheless, we have to cut up 300 more tanks before the end of the year, when the deadline of the Vienna accords expires. It is a good thing we managed to sell 56 T-62 tanks decommissioned by the Bulgarian Army to Yemen this month. The existing imbalances enshrined in the Vienna CFE [Conventional Armed Forces in Europe] Treaty from the time when Europe was split into two blocs are increasing further as regards quality because of the continuous rearmament of Greece and Turkey, who are two of the biggest customers for conventional weapons in the world.

We find it difficult to convince our neighbors not to rearm, now that they have billions available, Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov admitted. Greece and Turkey receive military aid under a 10-year NATO program that concluded at the end of 1994. However, during recent years, this program produced substantial increases in their tank forces, 30 percent in the case of Turkey and 50 percent for Greece. Between 1992 and 1994, Turkey took delivery of a total of 1,100 tanks, almost 950 armored personnel carriers [APC], 220 large-caliber artillery systems, five submarines (with five more in prospect), two "Dogan" missile patrol boats (four or five times as many are promised), plus frigates and landing craft. During the same period, Greece acquired a total of 1,300 tanks, almost 1,100 APC's, 360 artillery systems, over 800 ground-to-air missile installations and antitank missile systems, and about 50 naval vessels and boats. Turkey replaced 30 percent of its combat aircraft, while Greece replaced 40 percent. During the last three years, Ankara received a total of 115 aircraft and almost 240 helicopters, while Greece received about 200 aircraft.

In addition, Germany donated to our southern neighbors big arms consignments from the stocks of weapons remaining from the former GDR [German Democratic Republic]. So far, we have been grateful to receive only 74 communications vehicles—headquarters vehicles—EP-137 radio stations, and EP-140 shortwave radio stations valued at 840 million leva in total. The former GDR Army had 10,000 units of combat equipment and, under the CFE Treaty ceilings, these have to be either destroyed in one way or another or given away.

DER SPIEGEL claims that 4,000 railroad carloads of Russian weapons have been poured into the Balkans. Some of these ended up in the former Yugoslav republics. Bernd Schmidtbauer, coordinator of the German special services, told BILD AM SONTAG that General Matvey Burlakov, commander of Russia's Western Military District, reached a deal with Turkey to sell them 16,500 armored vehicles. However, he failed to mention another "small detail," namely the trifling price for which Germany sold Turkey several hundred thousand Kalashnikovs and about 2,000 APC's and armored reconnaissance vehicles.

Prior to 1989, about two-thirds of our army's budget was allocated for the technical maintenance of combat equipment, and one-third went for feeding and clothing the troops. In 1994, 95 percent of the defense budget was earmarked for the army's subsistence, and this money lasted only until the end of August. Only 5 percent was allocated for maintaining combat hardware. As a proportion of the GDP, the Army budget declined from 4.06 percent in 1989 to 2.4 percent in 1994. In 1990, the difference between what the defense ministry asked the finance ministry for and what it actually received was 3-4 percent, whereas last year the gap widened to almost 300 percent, when the Army received 13 billion leva of the 37 billion it asked for.

At the same time, in 1993 Greece had a military budget of $2.731 billion, which increased to $3.3 billion in 1994. Athens received about $330 million in military credits in 1993, almost $285 million in 1994, and expects to receive almost $260 million in 1995. The Turkish Army budget for 1994 was $8.492 billion (almost 15 percent of the total state budget). In 1993, the United States granted Ankara $450 million of military aid, and in 1994—almost $410 million, plus a further $143 million for developing the economy. In addition, Germany injected almost 140 million German marks between 1991 and 1994. Last year Turkey received $1 billion from the fund to compensate for losses incurred in NATO's "Desert Storm" operation in the Persian Gulf. At the end of last year, Washington granted Ankara a further $3.5 billion from the same fund to finance a

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new short-term program to produce updated F-16 fighters at the TAI company's plants. For 1995, Washington has promised $328 million of military aid. At the same time, Bulgaria has announced losses of $6.1 billion in the 1992-94 period from the Yugo-embargo alone and a further $3 billion from "Desert Storm," but has yet to receive one red cent.

This is the reason why, this year, the Defense Ministry applied for a budget of over 40 billion leva, three times more than last year's, solely for maintaining the troops. Separately from this, Colonel General Tsvetan Totomirov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, demanded budget funding to carry out the reforms in the Army, part of which was to be earmarked for rearmament and research and development. If the rate at which the Bulgarian Army is falling behind is not reduced or partly made good, we will find it difficult to ever catch up with our neighbors in modernizing our equipment. It is not a question of Bulgaria's facing any threat from our neighbors in this situation. However, the chronic lack of funds to update and restructure our army in postbloc Europe is rendering our army powerless and sets in doubt the internal guarantees for our national security for the immediate period until the end of the century—and not from the viewpoint of a static confrontation of armies and weapons. The dynamic processes taking place in geopolitics and the science of geoeconomics that is replacing it are imperceptibly passing Bulgaria by. We are left as the "good chaps" in the Balkans, who create no problems regarding the peninsula's peace and stability. At the same time, however, when the problems are counted and the compensation and aid equation is calculated, Bulgaria is nevertheless left out of the calculations.

## Scandal Involving INKO, SDS Officials

*95BA0101A Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian 24 Dec 94 pp 35-36*

[Article by Zoya Dimitrova: "$3.7 Million From INKO Disappeared to the Isle of Man"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The new people at the scandal-ridden firm are either former deputies or the wives of SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] deputies, or relatives of Margarit Mitsev; "Stamen Petrov should recall whether he didn't also receive a Sony TV in the Saab that Doron gave him as a gift," hints Teraton's president, Mladen Mutafchiyski.*

"Let me admit sincerely that when I read the interview with Stamen Petrov, I was quite upset about the misery in which Stamen Petrov is living in distant, poor Portugal, instead of being delighted by the progress of the firm that he managed with such competence," says Mladen Mutafchiyski. "The only thing that I couldn't understand was why, since he didn't do anything irregular, he didn't come back and explain to the investigation certain things at the firm, instead of waving a finger and saying that he did and did not eat a roll.

"Let him explain, for example, whether, when he received the notorious Saab automobile, it was just the Saab that he received as a gift, or whether there wasn't also a Sony color TV in the trunk.

"Didn't he also receive from his other main sponsor, Margarit Mitsev, a massive gold ring, in accordance with the arrangement that INKO provides the money and the partner firm provides the know-how, which turns into 'don't know'? Obviously, in order to be able to enjoy himself as the Sun King, he needed that kind of massive ring.

"On one hand, he represents himself as an experienced person, who did everything possible for INKO's prosperity, but on the other hand, he does not know when a single contract was concluded or what for, and his deputy Aleksandur Kostadinov was supposedly responsible for everything.

"He also had a second deputy, however, Mr. Mikhov, whose brother is the manager of Vandimeks, and is involved in the management of Toptreyd. The same brother has about 30 million levs in funds from Doron for the privatization of Biokhim. Furthermore, Aleksandur Kostadinov was the deputy director for administrative affairs, and Mikhov was the deputy director for commercial affairs.

"Let the former director of INKO answer the question of why $3.7 million is disappearing in the direction of the Isle of Man. Stamen Petrov liked the Isle of Man, so much that he insisted that the rally team supported by INKO participate in a visit to Man, even though our racers' cars were not suitable for the island's race track. He was probably looking for a place for a diet, eating one to two rolls apiece.

"Either Stamen Petrov cannot control himself, or else he is trying to pull the legs of the entire Bulgarian people through the pages of 168 CHASA, since he knows that people read this newspaper.

"The 'exile' claims that the wives of many influential figures work at Teraton. He probably has in mind the fact that women who are relatives of certain people are working for INKO at this time and are part of a certain arrangement—the same arrangement is in effect at our firm. Actually, all the professionals left INKO, and the new people are either former deputies or the spouses of SDS deputies, or else some sort of relatives of Margarit Mitsev. Probably Stamen Petrov, in appointing those people, hoped to get rich on them. Ahead of time, he had the idea of using the deputies for some kinds of deals in order to squander $17 million from INKO.

"With the exception of the spouse of former Deputy Minister Stanimir Burzashki, no one else's wife is working at Teraton—neither Asen Michkovski's, nor Valentin Karabashev's. Also, Stanimir Burzashki's wife worked at Teraton even before her husband became deputy minister of trade, and she has the qualifications for such a job. I hope that Stamen Petrov does not think that she should leave.

"Stamen Petrov claims that Ludzhev has nothing to do with INKO, except for an agreement on joint activities with the Slaviya hockey-skating club. That does not correspond to the

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truth. Dimitur Ludzhev has shown unconcealed interest in INKO for years—his close friend Kiril Kirilov was appointed head of INKO, and after that time did not conclude a single contract, but husbanded INKO's funds in order to give them out to certain people. The practice of giving out money to selected firms started with Kiril Kirilov, and it also continued under Stamen Petrov. I was a friend of Chavdar Petkov, the former director of counterintelligence, according to whom Dimitur Ludzhev showed interest in four firms—INKO, Insist, Teraton, and Interkomers.

"It is hardly a coincidence that the lawyer Daniel Vulchev, who was the head of the personnel department at the Defense Ministry, afterwards became the chief legal consultant at INKO and the reason for a lot of the senseless contracts there. Either Daniel Vulchev is not a good lawyer or else he has other elements as a motivation.

"When Ludzhev became defense minister, he brought these purely commercial enterprises under the management of the Defense Ministry, and did everything possible to exile the specialists in them abroad.

"There is a theory that capital has flowed out of Bulgaria. What I think is that the people who worked at INKO, Insist, and Tekhnika brought major sums into Bulgaria. Instead of a few foreign firms working directly in the Russian market, they used Bulgaria as a middleman. Now many of INKO's clients are starting to lose confidence—documentation has disappeared—and the clients are doubting INKO's commercial reliability.

"Teraton was one of the few firms that refused to give money—100,000 levs—to pay for a certain building in the village of Brushlyan, where Dimitur Ludzhev was born. It is certainly known to President Zhelev, who visited Ludzhev in his native village, that he built a marvelous home there.

"The idea of merging INKO into Teraton is being developed in secrecy. According to that idea, the two enterprises should be merged in order to save INKO, and give it a chance for a new life. That idea is still in existence."

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## NATO Membership Seems Long Way Off

*95CH0099B Prague PROGNOSIS WEEKLY in English 4 Jan 95 p 5*

[Article by Richard Byrne Reilly: "Czechs Creep Toward a Fragmented Alliance"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] As 1994 drew to a close, the Army of the Czech Republic found itself no closer to being accepted into the NATO alliance than they were the year before, despite an increasing number of general assurances from NATO generals and top Western politicians.

"It's not a question of if, but when," was the response of NATO commander General George Joulwan during his November visit to Prague when asked for a definitive timetable for Czechs to join the Western security alliance. Joulwan's response was a near-echo of the assurances offered 11 months earlier by U.S. President Bill Clinton and other Western leaders at the January NATO summit in Brussels.

"The question is no longer whether NATO will take on new members, but when and how," Clinton said then.

Throughout 1994, the Czech Republic found itself playing host to a wide range of politicians and ranking military officials who in the end took leave without offering the nation a firm guarantee that eventual membership would be extended. Instead, U.S. Chairman of the American Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. John Shalikashvili, Joulwan and others chose to stress the importance of the Czechs' continued involvement in the Partnership for Peace, which was launched after the January conference.

Even a much-touted visit by the new Czech Defense Minister Vilem Holan to Washington for high-level discussions with his American counterpart William Perry in early December failed to clear the increasingly murky waters that continue to separate the Czech Republic from the rest of Western Europe on the subject of NATO membership.

Several factors are sure to prolong the Czechs' waiting period, sources say. The war in the former Yugoslavia has illuminated ideological differences within the alliance and graphically shown how NATO has been unable to agree on a unified plan of action. Then there are the Russians, who adamantly oppose eastward expansion of NATO on grounds that the alliance poses a threat to the country's sovereignty.

"It is Russia's opinion that if NATO enlarges, and if the Czechs and others join the alliance, then the new Europe (that has emerged since the collapse of the Soviet Bloc) will find itself again divided. And why should the Czechs join when they are incapable of even defending themselves?" said Jurij Cingovatov, the Russian press attache in Prague, making veiled references to the blunders of the Czech military during the last year.

"In the new Europe that has emerged, we need an entirely new security structure," Cingatovatov (as published) said.

A myriad of other mistakes were also committed by members of the Czech military, such as when its top logistics officer Gen. Oldrich Barta was arrested shoplifting toys from a Swedish store in late 1993.

A Western defense attache, who requested anonymity, said the Czech Republic will eventually move under the NATO umbrella, but that such a link is still a long way off. "The Czech military is moving forward, but they still have a long way to go."

## Definition of Integration Into EU Sought

*95CH0099C Prague PROGNOSIS WEEKLY in English 4 Jan 95 p 5*

[Article by Robert McLean: "Slow March West Begins"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The waves kicked up by East Germans fleeing to the West through Hungary in 1989—triggering the tsunami that became the East European-wide revolution—reached the shores of the European Union in the last 12 months.

The democratic states spawned by the convulsions five years ago are now serious candidates for accession to the EU. Until now, the union has been a vaguely defined mix of eventual goals such as monetary union, common foreign policy, customs-free borders and fair competition.

But the structures and voting procedures for implementing these ideas were created for six countries, not for the 15 members that will be on board beginning in 1995. With six more now waiting in the wings, it will no longer be possible to avoid a massive reshuffling and rethinking of priorities and goals.

The Czech government is all too aware of this and it has assumed an air of quiet reserve, even smugness, on EU matters. While Poland and Hungary jumped forward like over-achieving students to hand in formal applications to the Union, the Czech Republic will be applying for membership in 1996, by which time it will know more about the club it's trying to join.

So the Czechs are in the happy position of being able to lecture the EU about its need for change, rather than just waiting for bones of encouragement tossed by Western politicians.

The EU took an important step in its own restructuring in Essen on December 9-10 by formally opening its doors to the eventual membership of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria and by laying down a basic strategy for the process. In a meeting fraught with symbolism, leaders of these countries flew at German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's invitation to meet with their EU counterparts for a presentation of this strategy.

Gerhard Sabathil, First Secretary of the EU mission in Prague, says its symbolic meeting in Essen marks an important change in Czech-EU relations. "I just saw in the last weeks that we have turned from a transformation

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period to an integration period regarding our work for Central Eastern Europe," said Sabathil.

"It was a question some years ago whether it would be," said Sabathil. "It was then the question 'When will it be?' and now we have the answer to a clear route of how it can be done."

The public (and the media) have a tendency to crave dramatic meetings and far-reaching decisions, but Czech Foreign Ministry Spokesman Karel Boruvka maintains the process is driven by much more hum-drum, daily work. "The most important part of the whole exercise in the years to come is routine work on the implementation of the strategy," he said.

He put the ball elegantly in the EU's court by saying that before the member countries made the institutional reforms necessary "to pave the way to future enlargement, no one can expect setting a date for future enlargement or a specific list of acceding countries."

sw;8.5qThis statement also demonstrates Prague's legendary desire not to be lumped into the same bag as the other countries of the region, a wish that is, however, rapidly becoming irrelevant as the individual reform paths chosen by the countries are leading to different places. For all the praise poured upon the "Czech miracle," there is a growing awareness that its social peace results from almost leftist fiscal policy covered by conservative rhetoric.

Poland's inflation and unemployment rates are considerably higher than the Czech Republic's (estimated at 3 and 10 percent respectively) but this is in part because the Polish have undergone far greater structural changes.

Klaus and the government he overshadows will sooner or later have to loosen the control they still maintain over unemployment and bankruptcies. This will certainly have to come before the country's acceptance in the EU, but it's a question whether this will happen before the 1996 national elections.

## Prime Minister's Political Skill Described

*95CH0099A Prague PROGNOSIS WEEKLY in English 4 Jan 95 p 5*

[Article by Charles Hornberger: "Wry Klaus Stands Down All Comers"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] For the past 12 months, anyone who wanted to rock the boat in the Czech Republic first had to get past Vaclav Klaus. Few seem to have really wanted to, and even fewer have succeeded. The unflappable Czech premier solidified his position as the country's most charismatic and deeply entrenched politician in 1994, all the while stopping challengers with a deft wit that left him standing tall atop the political heap.

Despite a seemingly non-stop series of challenges and scandals that landed on the premier's doorstep—from allegations of media meddling and hints at top-level corruption to open dissent within his government coalition—Klaus rode the year out smoothly.

The premier's technique has become fairly clear: He defuses controversies by refusing to comment on them and denying their importance, and then jokingly dismisses the politicians who would make a big deal out of them.

During a December state of the union address lauding his own government's record over the past two years, Klaus casually tossed aside the "catastrophe scenarios" of opposition politicians. Earlier, when a proposal of his came under fire by one opposition leader, Klaus quipped: "If we were 100 percent sure before that the proposal was the right step, (his) statement assured us that it was not 100 percent, but at least 101 percent correct."

But Klaus has also supplanted his dismissals with a charming, campaign-trail demeanor in public, taking pains to schedule frequent meetings with ordinary citizens to explain—often very lucidly—the programs his government is pursuing.

It is an approach that has paid off: Polls have repeatedly found that Klaus is seen by a majority of Czechs as the country's single most indispensable politician. Even the country's other best-liked politician, President Vaclav Havel, seems unable to shake Klaus. The premier's December speech was itself a bit of an end-run on the president, who had proposed giving such an address to Parliament himself. When Klaus first heard of Havel's plans, he called them simply "surprising."

Reporters have also found themselves at a loss when sparring with the premier, regardless of how many controversies they turn up. When one press report after another claimed that former secret police agents were involved in government scandals, Klaus penned a column decrying the "agent-mania" running rampant in Czech society and blaming reporters for perpetuating the frenzy.

Klaus will also exit 1994 with a long row of notches in his belt. He has a budget surplus forecasted for 1995, the lowest inflation rates of any country in the former Soviet Bloc and an unemployment rate that hasn't topped 4 percent at any point during the year. It's the kind of record that may give the premier the bragging rights he so often claims, as he did in a January interview where he claimed bluntly "I'm always right."

## Alleged Drug Dealer Linked to U-235 Delivery

*AU0902173395 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Feb 95 p 1*

[Article by "(fr)": "A Czech Suspected of Drug Dealing Allegedly Smuggled Uranium Too"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—A 43-year-old Czech has been accused of the unauthorized production and possession of drugs, the counterfeiting of money, and the unauthorized possession of radioactive material. He was

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arrested along with a 23-year-old Tunisian as the middleman in a deal involving 1.0 kilogram of very high quality heroin.

According to Major Vaclav Cech of the City of Prague Office of Investigations 2d Division, this heroin is officially valued at 1.8 million korunas; however, it would fetch much more on the streets. The heroin was most likely destined for the Czech market.

A user, who managed to escape, paid for part of the consignment with forged dollars and Swiss francs. According to the investigator, the Czech middleman is, moreover, suspected of handing over 87.8-percent enriched uranium 235 to a German receiver in Germany. This involved a sample of a material that is suitable for manufacturing an atomic bomb and of which several kilograms were supposed to have been delivered.

The Tunisian and the Czech middleman, who are both in custody, each face a prison sentence of up to 15 years. At the moment, nothing more is known about the origin of the heroin or the uranium.

### Illicit Marketeers Flourish in Republic

*95CH0099D Prague PROGNOSIS WEEKLY in English 4 Jan 95 p 2*

[Article by Richard Byrne Reilly: "Black Market Bonanza"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ninety percent of Yugoslavs in the Czech Republic deal in drugs, guns and prostitution. Ninety percent of Albanians are heroin and gun runners. Ninety percent of Vietnamese are notorious tax evaders and black marketeers. Most Chinese restaurant owners launder dirty money. And the Bulgarians steal cars and deal drugs.

Or so says Petr Link, the official spokesman for the Czech Criminal Police.

"Only 10 percent of these nationalities are legitimate tourists, if that," Link said during a recent interview at police headquarters on the subject of the illicit black markets that have mushroomed in the Czech Republic since the political changes of five years ago.

Anything and everything is easily available in the nation if one knows where to look. Luxury stolen automobiles with forged registrations can be purchased for a fraction of their original cost. The narcotics trade thrives as sellers entice with some of the lowest prices in Europe. Handguns and machine-guns with serial numbers removed can be obtained. Stolen American and EU member passports can also be acquired at scandalously low prices. All this and more, often at bargain prices.

Police and other sources with insight into the world of organized crime are the first to admit that the Czech Republic has found itself transformed into one of the most flourishing black market bazaars in the whole of Central Europe, with Prague as its epicenter.

As 1994 comes to a close, Czech police concede defeat in their quest to stem the overwhelming tide of well-organized criminal groups that have come to the country to exploit to full advantage its liberal visa requirements, lenient criminal sentencing guidelines, and porous borders.

"These black marketeers have targeted Prague," Link said, taking a drag from one of his ever-present Sparta cigarettes. "It just disgusts me and I certainly don't have a good feeling about it. Its scope is overwhelming. Really, we just don't know how to deal with it."

Pavel Caslavsky, director of the Ministry of Trade and Industry's Office of Inspection, was equally blunt in his assessment of the police's success in fighting black marketeers in the last year. Police have failed miserably in their mission to neutralize illicit operators, he said, in the process costing the Czech government billions of crowns in lost tax revenue and fruitless police legwork.

"The ability of the police to control the situation is just not adequate," he said, adding that officials are not even sure of the total worth of the Czech black market. "Is it in the millions or billions (of crowns)? That's the question."

Link said that although he is confident the tide will eventually turn for the police, it will take some time. How long he doesn't know. The police never had to deal with these types of highly disciplined black market criminals during communism, he said.

"I'm optimistic that the situation will improve. But we're still regrouping. Five years is really too short a time to sort all of this out," he said.

To Link, policing the Czech Republic often seems like a series of confrontations with one distasteful ethnic minority after another. He seems unaware that in the West such comments coming from a police spokesman would at best get him fired, at worst stomped in the streets.

For example, Link said, 90 percent of Russians in the Czech Republic are involved in the stolen car trade. Most Ukrainians come to the country to find work in the illicit construction industry while their wives become whores in order to supplement incomes. Ninety percent of Poles also steal cars and are involved in other dirty money transactions. Arabs of all nationalities are engaged similarly.

Indeed, the only people from the former Soviet Bloc to be spared Link's condemnation were from the Baltic states. Citizens of those countries come to the Czech Republic as tourists and pleasure seekers, not criminals looking to make the young nation fertile ground for organized criminal activity, he said.

"The people from the Baltic states we don't have problems with. They're peaceful people," he said.

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But it's the Vietnamese who incur the harshest wrath of both the police and the Office of Inspection, the country's only consumer protection body. In the last four years, Vietnamese black marketeers importing cheap clothing manufactured in Asian sweatshops have succeeded in establishing extensive smuggling routes throughout the Czech Republic, Caslavsky said.

Last week, Caslavsky's agents, in conjunction with German and Czech police, conducted a pre-dawn raid of a Vietnamese outdoor clothing and electronic goods bazaar outside of Karlovy Vary. More than 150 agents descended on the bazaar, seizing 17 large vans, detaining over 20 Vietnamese nationals, and seizing 3 million DM worth of counterfeit goods including fake Levi's and bogus Sony Walkmans. Documentation disclosing how the Vietnamese avoided paying taxes was also seized.

Caslavsky said the Vietnamese mobile bazaar was one of many that tour the country and do business between midnight and 5 a.m. in order to avoid police detection. Smaller Vietnamese merchants, such as those who run clothing kiosks throughout Prague, would rendezvous with the roving caravan to stockpile goods such as counterfeit Walt Disney clothing, fake Nike tennis shoes and imitation Walkmans, which would then be sold for a profit.

However, the fruit of the sting operation was the seizure of documents showing how the Vietnamese black marketeers commit fraud and tax evasion. For example, purchase orders and other documents indicated that the Vietnamese list T-shirts as being bought in bulk at 9 Kc [Czech koruna] apiece, only to sell them on the streets for 250 Kc. Jeans listed as being bought for 15 Kc were being sold for 600 Kc. All the products that were seized were counterfeit, Caslavsky said.

"It was unbelievable. But this is only the tip of the iceberg," he said, adding that the Vietnamese are difficult to investigate because they deal primarily among themselves and their language and customs are so different from those of Czechs.

Link was asked if the thousands of Americans who have established themselves here were involved in illegal activity. He smiled, ashed his cigarette, and shook his head.

"No. The Americans are rich. They are in the Czech Republic just to make more money" through legitimate means, he said.

## Democratic Left Founds 'Dissatisfaction' Movement

*AU0902173195 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 7 Feb 95 p 2*

[CTK report: "The Bohemian-Moravian Civic Dissatisfaction Movement Has Been Founded in Brno"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Brno—Cemohon is the Bohemian-Moravian Civic Dissatisfaction Movement [Ceskomoravske hnuti obcanske nespokojenosti] that was founded in Brno on 4 February and that intends to express publicly "disagreement with current events" in the Czech Republic and win over citizens for "common ideas and steps." This announcement was made yesterday by the movement's spokesmen, Lotar Indruch and Jiri Frajdl.

Indruch is currently chairman and Frajdl deputy chairman of the Democratic Left movement that is defending its legal permissibility in court.

According to its spokesmen, Cemohon rejects intolerance, uncivilized behavior, infallibility, and political passions and emotions that lead to a deterioration in the lives of honest and hard-working citizens, tradesmen, and businessmen. Therefore, Cemohon does not want to reconcile itself to the defeatist mood and rising lack of interest in public events, society's indifference, and citizens' resignation. [passage omitted]

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### Russian Delegation Head on Economic Relations

*LD0902140495 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A delegation from the Russian Federation State Duma led by First Deputy Chairman Mikhail Mityukov is paying the first official working visit to Bratislava. The visit began on 6 February. This visit should be seen in the context of the planned visit of Russian Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin, who is due to arrive on 13 February.

The Russian deputies met members of the Slovak parliament and government representatives. Before the final news conference, our editor Jan Smihula interviewed First Deputy Chairman Mikhail Mityukov. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Smihula] Slovak-Russian economic relations cannot be described as excellent because they are not meeting either country's expectations. Mr. Mityukov, what are the mayor drawbacks in the Russian legislation?

[Mityukov, in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation] From the legal point of view, the problems are related to Russian foreign economic activities. We need a law on foreign economic activities. Furthermore, we need a more differentiated approach to customs duties, which, alas, not always help Slovak products succeed competitively in the Russian market.

These are the problems that are preventing Russia from developing economic relations with foreign partners. It is therefore necessary to improve bank, tax, customs, and investment legislation. At present, many politicians see it as a necessity.

European integration must proceed because it is a good thing. Russian relations with the West, including the United States, must be strengthened. However, we have closer neighbors—the Central European countries—where economic and political interests are closer to home. This must be our priority. [end recording]

### Kovac Responds to Parliament Resolution

*AU0902144795 Bratislava SME in Slovak 4 Feb 95 p 4*

[Letter from Slovak President Michal Kovac to National Council Chairman Ivan Gasparovic issued on 3 February: "What Damages the State's Interests Abroad Cannot Be Determined by a Vote"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman,

I have acquainted myself with the course of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] meeting of 25 January on my reply to William A. Orme, executive director of the Committee for the Protection of Journalists, and with NRSR Resolution No. 70/1995. Both materials confirmed my fears that a debate on this issue would not be conducive to stabilizing political life and calming the social atmosphere and would not contribute to the creation of Slovakia's positive image in the world.

Deputies representing three parliamentary parties demanded from me an explanation of some passages of my reply to W.A. Orme. Of course, they, as any other citizens, cannot be denied the right to ask the president of the Republic for an explanation of his approach to the solution of a certain issue. But even the president has the right, in accordance with the Constitution and his responsibility as head of state, to find an adequate manner of accommodating the deputies and explaining to them his views and intentions. In this case, I had decided to explain my position on the letter to you, to the prime minister, and to representatives of the coalition clubs of deputies. At these meetings I explained everything in which the participants were interested.

By their contents and form, the debate and the NRSR resolution represent an attempt to subject the head of state to the controlling powers of parliament. However, according to the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, the NRSR avails itself of such powers only in instances set out in Articles 106 and 107 of the Constitution. There can be no doubt that the issue under discussion did not constitute such instances. Apart from the provisions of Articles 106 and 107, there does not exist between parliament and the head of state any relationship of accountability. The attempt to infer such a relationship or elements thereof from the fact that the president of the Republic is elected by the NRSR is inappropriate because the voting right itself does not imply the right to exercise control. This is obvious, among other things, from the fact that other officials elected by parliament, such as judges, are not accountable to parliament. Similarly, the right of the president of the Republic to dissolve the NRSR under certain circumstances does not imply the opposite relationship. The right of the head of state to participate in an NRSR meeting cannot be changed into an obligation, not even indirectly, and parliamentary soil thus should not be used to construe the NRSR's rights vis-a-vis the head of state.

Let me now move to the problem discussed. In some statements made during the debate and, subsequently, in the resolution itself, formulations appeared that dangerously distort not only the meaning of some sentences of my text, but also my actions and unequivocal stands as president of the Slovak Republic. I am convinced that, when analyzing my reply to W.A. Orme without emotions and bias and with good intention, we will not find in it anything that would lower our Republic in the estimation of others. On the one hand, the president accepts freely and with understanding the concern of a part of the foreign and domestic public over rash changes in Slovak electronic media, an issue that would require great sensitivity and prudence. He does not close his eyes to problems but ponders them, thus confirming that in the independent Slovak Republic it is possible to think freely, which applies to all citizens, including the president. On the other hand, the president, precisely because

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he is the president, perceives problems with a certain time and political detachment, draws attention to the fact that "the problems with which we are grappling are problems of the beginnings," and expresses his firm conviction that "our country will manage to overcome them in a short time." The president thus did not say that the very quintessence of democracy in our country is in jeopardy, as some deputies were insinuating.

I have to raise objections of principle to the allegation that, in my reply, I "cast doubt on the democratic principles of the state" I represent. I did not even hint at anything of that sort anywhere in my letter. My fears concerned expressly only the situation in radio and television and I had serious reasons to voice them. It is my conviction that both supporters of the government and the opposition should be represented in their management, if for no other reason than that radio and television are public corporation institutions with listeners and viewers in all sections of society and also because the principle of pluralist democracy requires this.

If, in my reply to Mr. Orme, I voiced the confidence that "Slovak journalists and mass media institutions will shortly be able to work on the principles of democracy and pluralism again," I intended, first and foremost, to convey the hope that some laws concerning the mass media would be newly passed or amended in the shortest possible time, the need for which has been talked about for a long time, regardless of who was in the government. This is necessary also in order to prevent permanent changes in the composition of mass media councils and at the head of the mass media, to guarantee the independence of radio and television as public service institutions, to clarify the responsibility of journalists for the veracity of information they provide and for respecting the personality of everyone they write or speak about, and to prevent conflicts of interests also in this sphere.

Hence, nothing entitles the NRSR deputies to deduce from my concern, which applies exclusively to the situation in the two mass media, that I was predicting a change of government. The fact that I had drafted and sent my letter before the draft composition of the new government was even submitted to me makes this accusation even more absurd. Likewise, it is not true that my ability to "take into account the reality of the results of democratic elections" has grown weaker. How better and more visibly could I confirm my natural respect for the expressed will of the people than by appointing on 13 December 1994, at the proposal of the chairman of the entity that emerged from the elections as the most successful one, the present coalition government and by expressing my support for it? On the other hand, it is necessary to bear in mind that public corporation mass media should not be dependent on election results, precisely because, in accordance with the relevant legislation and in the spirit of democratic practices, they are not instruments of the government and political parties but the source and guarantee of the provision of objective information to all residents of the country.

Surely some formulations or words used in my letter are open to discussion, and we can agree that I could have expressed this or that idea differently. But even the text of the reply that the NRSR assessed on 25 January does not entitle anyone to foist upon me intentions that I did not have or even to qualify me as a president who is not well disposed toward his own country. Nothing suggests that my reply to W.A. Orme has damaged Slovakia's good image abroad. What damages the interests of the state abroad cannot be determined by a vote. It can be learned from our foreign partners and from the evaluations of important international institutions. The democratic world is extremely sensitive about these issues, and, fortunately, we no longer live in isolation or behind an iron curtain.

In the final analysis, the commotion stirred around this problem is getting into conflict with the constructive intentions of the government and with the personal initiatives of the prime minister in contacts with the most important European and transatlantic organizations and groups. Also for this reason, it is in the interest of the Slovak public that we be able to assess our words and deeds without taking offense and free of vanity and that we do not view even those citizens who perceive the social situation differently as nothing but traitors, enemies, or egoists with no principles, but as partners to whom we can, and must, sincerely offer our hand. Even today, I have no reason to change anything about my New Year's appeal, in which I clearly endorsed the ideas of the worldwide Year of Tolerance, which I applied to the specific Slovak context. In conclusion, I would like to assure both members of parliament and citizens of the Slovak Republic that I will continue unwaveringly to act in accordance with the Constitution, in accordance with my conscience, and, more than anything else, in accordance with the interests of the population of our country.

Esteemed Mr. Chairman, allow me to ask you to acquaint NRSR deputies with my letter. In view of the fact that NRSR Resolution No. 70/1995 has been published, I am making my statement available to the mass media and the chairmen of NRSR clubs of deputies.

Sincerely yours,
Michal Kovac.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 7 February on page 2, under the headline "Ivan Gasparovic Does Not Intend to Reply to the President's Letter, Which He Considers Vague," carries the following TA SR report on NRSR Chairman Ivan Gasparovic's response to President Kovac's letter: " 'NRSR Chairman Ivan Gasparovic received from President Michal Kovac a letter in reply to the resolution passed by parliament in the course of its fourth meeting. He considers the letter vague because it does not specifically answer the exactly formulated objections contained in parliament's resolution,' Lubos Jurik, the NRSR chairman's spokesman, told TA SR yesterday. Most of Ivan Gasparovic's reservations stem from the fact that the president did not react to the

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pieces of disinformation contained in his letter to W.A. Orme. The parliament chairman's assumption has been confirmed that it was also on the basis of the standpoint of the U.S. Committee for the Protection of Journalists and on the basis of the president's letter that the U.S. Department of State, for example, drafted its annual report (on the observance of human rights in Slovakia). 'A seemingly credible source of information thus contributes to the creation of Slovakia's negative image.' According to Lubos Jurik's words, the parliament chairman does not intend to reply to the president's letter. Yesterday, he put the letter at the disposal of all chairmen of NRSR committees, and deputies will discuss it at committee meetings. According to his spokesman, Ivan Gasparovic has no reason to change his opinion on the president's letter because his opinion is in conformity with the NRSR resolution."]

## Foreign Minister Discusses Foreign Policy Issues

*AU1002065695 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 6 Feb 95 p 6*

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk by Lubomir Hudo in Bratislava; date not given: "I Do Not Believe Our Reputation Abroad Is Bad"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Last year, in mid-December, the chairman of the Department of Sociology at the Philosophy Faculty of Comenius University in Bratislava and president of the Slovak Sociology Association at the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Juraj Schenk, traded the world of science for the world of diplomacy. The government put him in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The new head of Slovak diplomacy began to gather experience and make first steps in an area with which he had no previous contact. Minister Schenk is still some months short of the traditional introductory 100 days, but we asked him for an interview so that he would inform our readers about his impressions, ideas, and views regarding the first days of his work at the Foreign Ministry and on the international scene.*

[Hudo] The traditional critics of the present government coalition cast doubts on your appointment to the post of foreign minister by pointing out that you have no diplomatic experience. Milan Knazko and Jozef Moravcik did not have such experience when they started, either—the former in the post of Slovak minister of international relations and the latter in the post of federal minister of foreign affairs. What can you tell us about your first experience and impressions from your Foreign Ministry work and the business trips you have made?

[Schenk] I will not comment on the opinions of the traditional critics. They have the right to their opinions, and life itself will show how right of wrong they were. When I took this post, I was well aware of what awaited me. I did not expect smooth sailing. The first impressions confirmed my expectations, and I cannot say that, at least so far, there were many surprises. It is a very complex business, and the adaption period particularly, which I am currently experiencing, is very demanding because I am encountering many of these issues for the first time in my life. I must carry out a lot of routine work, but the most complex affairs are the ones that bear great responsibility—the consequential decisions. These concern, above all, the fundamental interests of this state and issues relating to the contacts with representatives of other countries on our territory and during foreign travel. I have made five such trips—to the Vatican, Brno, Brussels, Budapest, and Strasbourg. My impressions, from the latest trips especially, are favorable. The main reason is that we managed to achieve our objectives, and we accomplished something on which we can build in the future.

[Hudo] Do you have plans for significant changes at the ministry or in staffing our missions abroad?

[Schenk] We are modifying the structure of the ministry as of 1 February. We want to gradually optimize whatever is necessary with the required standard in mind. I had an idea of what the Foreign Ministry structure should be like, but I certainly did not base it only on this idea, and I consulted on it within the framework of the ministry. It came as a surprise to me that this idea in its main principles corresponded to the conclusions at which the section heads and high-ranking officials at the ministry arrived. It is a matter of the modification of the structure in the interest of greater interrelations and coordination of the work at the ministry. It is not a change for the sake of change. These changes are not dominated by the personnel aspect, although the new structure brings some changes in staffing certain posts. It is because new bodies and substructures that are necessary for the operation of the ministry in present conditions are being established. All changes are subject to the criteria of the quality of work, professional conduct, and human and moral qualities. The same applies to our missions abroad. We expect from every employee that he will represent and advocate the interests of Slovakia abroad.

[Hudo] The foreign political orientation remains unchanged, and our ambition to integrate into the Western European structures is beyond any doubt. During a recent visit to Brussels, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar spoke about the preparation of society for a shock from the unification regarding the structural changes necessary for the integration of the Slovak Republic into the European Union. Can the Foreign Ministry somehow contribute to the moderation of the anticipated shock at the time of intrasocial changes?

[Schenk] It is a process that has two aspects. The prime minister emphasized in Brussels that, if we joined the European Union immediately, right now, our economy would simply collapse because it would not be competitive. At present, we are unable to compete with the advanced economies and satisfy the set requirements, like the problems of agricultural production and protectionism. In this sense, it would result in a shock in our country. We should join the European Union so this "tremor" would be bearable—to use a simile, so there would be no earthquake but

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only a tremor. It is a matter in which the Foreign Ministry can hardly help in a direct way. We can help by supporting economic activities that will improve the state of our economy and stimulate its development. We can do more in the other aspect of this issue. Our integration into the Western European structures does not have only a purely economic plane. There is also a political plane and a civic one, which concerns how our people will be able to prepare themselves for this process, how they will work, think, and present their stands. An important condition for joining the European Union is an approval by referendum—in Norway, for instance, the majority of the population refused EU membership and thus blocked the entire process for some time or, possibly, forever. The Foreign Ministry can contribute to our citizens' awareness of what to realistically expect from EU membership, what the advantages are, and what must be overcome, what the consequences of their decision are. When deciding in the referendum, they should decide not only freely, but also rationally.

[Hudo] According to the government policy statement, a significant reinforcement of the economic dimension is to occur in foreign policy. What does it mean for the Foreign Ministry?

[Schenk] The dictum that 80 percent of foreign policy is business is a very insightful one. The most important concern of foreign policy is the development of economic contacts and trade relations. It may be a little exaggerated because the traditional spheres of foreign policy cannot be ignored, but there is a lot to it. In the policy statement, we had in mind, above all, to open the possibilities not only for cooperation in the political and security spheres, but also, and especially, in the economy. The Foreign Ministry is not a ministry that immediately conducts foreign political activities. There are numerous specialized sector ministries and, above all, the Ministry of the Economy. There has always been a certain interconnection between the two ministries in this respect, and it has to continue. Our specific task is to open political doors for economic contacts. We must help to single out the areas that could be of interest to us. Foreign policy is implemented also by sending an economic signal to certain regions, where the direct establishment of political contacts is not possible, and develop cooperation in the economic sphere there. There is a broad spectrum of possibilities. Another thing altogether is how the interrelation between the two ministries developed. We know it does not work the way it should. It is our task to arrange powers so as to stop the joints in their relations from squeaking. It is also a problem that the foreign economic dimension of the presentation of Slovakia cannot depend only on the government and state bodies. The role of the economic entities in their presentation abroad must be reinforced. Not only the state enterprises, but also the stockholding companies and other types of economic entities, including all types of businessmen, have the possibility and even the duty to engage in foreign-economic marketing. The possibility is therefore being considered that these firms would contribute a certain percentage of their profit for the establishment of commercial missions, in which they could have their representatives, to improve contacts with foreign markets. Because several misinterpretations have already emerged, I would like to emphasize that we do not wish in any way jto limit or obliterate the operation of the trade-economic sections and counselors at our missions abroad. It means only a reinforcement of this structure with something new.

[Hudo] Priority attention is to be given to the development of relations with the neighboring countries. How ready are you to contribute to the reinforcement of good-neighborly relations and securing stability in the Central European region?

[Schenk] Our recent visit to Budapest can illustrate how we intend to do it. In cooperation with our Hungarian partners, we managed to find a suitable plane for a political dialogue that facilitated the first steps towards tearing down the barriers that have stood between us for so long. Of course, this process will not be that simple. Both parties will have to rise above certain things. We cannot change what happened in the past. We can, however, change our conduct in the present and in the future. True, history cannot be erased, and one keeps returning to it, but one cannot live with these tensions in the future. Despite all of the sudden changes in circumstances, present Slovak-Hungarian relations have remained within acceptable limits. Therefore, I believe that we will bring even the relations with Hungary to a standard form. No essential problems exist in relations with the other neighboring countries. There is no reason to expect some reason for conflict to emerge from any side. I believe that the visit to Hungary was a very good signal for laying foundations for the stability in the Central European region and their further development.

[Hudo] The government considers the general awareness of the international society and presentation of Slovakia abroad a very important task. Some media intentionally paint us in the darkest colors....

[Schenk] First of all, I do not believe that our reputation abroad is bad. I am well aware of the articles that occasionally appear in some media. It is not difficult to follow certain traces and stimuli that lead to the writing and publishing of these articles. One has to take into account the weight of the newspapers that carry such stands on the media market. It has an unpleasant effect on our citizens because some of these things do not correspond to the truth and are offensive. I do not mean to say that we are against justified criticism. We can identify our picture as intentionally drawn by several media neither with the picture of the Slovak Republic as perceived by the European and other public nor with the image of Slovakia in the eyes of the governments of other countries.

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[Hudo] An appropriate institutional basis is to be established for the implementation of a new solution to the relations with ethnic Slovaks abroad, and the cooperation with their organizations abroad is to be developed. Is the Foreign Ministry preparing some compelling measures to improve the existing situation?

[Schenk] So far, we are moving on the plane of identifying the main principles. The determining factor is for our countrymen not to feel like foreigners when they return to Slovakia. Such a regime must be found that would make the situation easier from the very crossing of the border to the eventual possibility of spending their old age in Slovakia among relatives in their native land. It is a complex legal and political issue that we must settle in a relatively short time. It is a topical problem for both us and our countrymen abroad. We have no reason to make them feel that Slovakia is not interested in them. We want to prepare a balanced and suitable regime for our mutual relations so no controversies arise in the legal system that could start a very complex chain reaction in infinitely long legal proceedings, for instance, in matters of ownership.

## Foreign Ministry Denies Arming 'Fundamentalists'

*LD0902200495 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through the press agency of the Slovak Republic, issued a statement today concerning reports carried by some foreign media that suggest that Islamic fundamentalists in Algeria have been armed with arms originating mostly in Slovakia.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has repeatedly rebutted any connections between the Slovak Republic and supplies to extremist, terrorist, or illegal organizations anywhere in the world.

In the statement, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs says that Slovak exports of arms and arms systems observe strict prohibition of supplying arms to the areas of political tension.

[Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak at 1600 GMT on 9 February reports the following: "I regard it as a provocation, as doubting and diminishing Slovakia's image abroad, Colonel Ignac Hianik, the head of the Slovak Government Licensing Commission, which issues licences for trading in arms, told the press agency of the Slovak Republic in response to a report carried on 4 February by the French daily LE MONDE, which reported on Slovakia's supplying arms to Islamic fundamentalists in Algeria. Hianik emphasized that arms that may be used by named terrorist groups have not necessarily been produced in Slovakia. If, for instance, fundamentalists obtain Kalashnikov machine guns, which arrived from Slovakia, it is not possible, according to Ignac Hianik, to say that the Slovak Republic was the original owner or producer."]

## Hungarian Coalition Paper on Grievances Summed Up

*AU0902154695 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 8 Feb 95 p 11*

[Unattributed report: "Minority (as Usual) 'Under Tension'; From the Hungarian Coalition's Document Addressed to the Governments of the Visegrad Four Countries"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The European Stability Pact, which is to end the Cold War period and draw a line under the political division of Europe, stresses that the solution to the standing of ethnic communities and their members living as minorities on the territories of individual states is an important element of stability." This is stated in an extensive document entitled "The Hungarian Community in the Slovak Republic in 1995," which the Hungarian coalition of three political parties in Slovakia (Coexistence, Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, Hungarian Civic Party) addressed to Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and the governments of the Visegrad Group states. The document was sent out on the eve of the Slovak Government delegation's recent visit to Budapest.

In the document, the Hungarian coalition representatives voice the conviction that this pact represents the first and unique chance for reconciliation among European nations. They draw attention to those problems of Hungarians living in Slovakia that need to be addressed in the interest of stability. Regarding the protection of the identity of minorities in the fields of education and culture, they point out that 25 percent (about 15,000) of the total number of children of statutory school age of citizens of Hungarian nationality do not attend a school with Hungarian as the language of instruction. Many of them cannot receive education in their native language because conditions have not been created for it in the Slovak Republic's system of education. "The greatest threat to Hungarian education at all levels is posed by the government's intention to introduce alternative education—that is, classes with Slovak as the language of instruction in Hungarian schools," the document stresses. The professional and lay Hungarian public rejects this plan and has expressed its opposition in the form of a petition. Regarding the cultural sphere, the Hungarian coalition points out that the provisional budget for the first quarter of 1995 does not foresee state support for Hungarian and other non-Slovak culture. The government program reckons only with the financing of one Hungarian-language newspaper. According to its program, the government will also interfere in church affairs. In cooperation with the churches, it will guarantee religious services in the state language in communities with a linguistically mixed population. Furthermore, the document draws attention to the fact that the language law does not permit bilingualism but allows it only in oral communication, if the

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share of the minority population in a given community or region reaches at least 20 percent.

In connection with the territorial and administrative division of the Slovak Republic, the document states that the government's policy statement revives the project of reorganizing state administration that had been prepared by Vladimir Meciar's government in 1993. Some 3,500 mayors and representatives of local self-administration bodies from southern Slovakia came out against this reorganization at a rally in Komarno in January 1994. In this context, the Hungarian coalition representatives recall the conditions spelled out in the protocol on the Slovak Republic's admission into the Council of Europe, in which it is stated that the ethnic principle, too, must be taken into consideration in the new territorial arrangement.

"Although we have not been able to become involved in the preparatory process of the Pact of Stability in Europe, we feel profound responsibility for the stability of our region, without which the European integration process could fail," the Hungarian coalition adds. In conclusion, its representatives appeal to the governments of the countries of the Visegrad Group, in the interest of protection of democracy and application of human rights, to consider their comments as a serious warning against the emergence of another source of tension in Central Europe.

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## Horn on Domestic Issues, NATO Membership

*BR1002081895 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 9 Feb 95 p 5*

[Article by Michel Rosten: "The Hungarian Prime Minister in Brussels—He Underlines the Improvement in Relations With His Neighbors"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn is on an official visit to Belgium. As soon as he arrived on Wednesday [8 February] morning, he was received in audience by the King. Later, he held a working meeting with Jean-Luc Dehaene, met businessmen at the headquarters of the FEB [Belgian Business Federation], and had a chat with Messrs. Collignon [Minister President of the Walloon Region] and Van den Brande [Minister President of the Flemish Region]. This Thursday [9 February], Horn will converse with WEU [Western European Union] secretary general Jose Cutileiro, European Parliament president Klaus Haensch, European Commission president Jacques Santer, and NATO secretary general Willy Claes.

Wednesday afternoon, Mr. Horn held a limited news conference during which he conducted an overview of internal and diplomatic questions concerning his country. Asked to comment on the recent resignation of his finance minister and that, earlier, of the president of the central bank, he minimized the importance of the events: "Ministers come and go. The names of the people I proposed to take over their functions have been well received in professional circles." These people will have to be heard by parliamentary commissions before the prime minister can present them to the head of state next week.

At the same time, Mr. Horn made it clear that the changes will not affect the governing coalition, despite the fact that Ivan Peto, president of the Alliance of Free Democrats, said that the coalition had arrived at a "turning point" in its existence following the resignation of Finance Minister Bekesi. This partner, underlined the Hungarian prime minister, "issued a statement in order to note that this has to do with internal affairs of the Socialist Party."

The change in ministers will not modify the policy of austerity, all the more so given that the "budget deficit is shaping up to be larger than foreseen," and that corrections will have to be made. As for discussions with the IMF, they will start again next spring. Horn explained that currency reserves are high enough so that the country will not have to "ask for standby credit, but financing will be required to ensure the modernization program over the next three years."

### NATO Membership

Finally, when he was asked if the tensions existing between Hungary and its neighbors where Hungarian minorities are settled will not compromise Budapest's chances of joining NATO, which does not want to import the quarrels of its new members, Mr. Horn pointed out that "the visit of Mr. Meciar to Budapest allowed progress to be made: plans for a basic treaty, agreement in principle on the Gabcikovo dam, opening of two new border posts ... With Romania, on the other hand, the situation is more difficult. There are very hard-line forces that are trying to influence policy in Bucharest. On 1 February, however, in Strasbourg, the foreign ministers from Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary signed the Council of Europe's global agreement on the protection of minority populations. This is encouraging because we are aware that membership in the European Union and NATO will not take place without a normalization of relations with our neighbors."

## Horn Says Population Supports Accession to EU

*LD0902185295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Among the applicants, only Hungary has a preparatory program for EU membership, Prime Minister Gyula Horn stressed in Brussels when he met the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament. Gabor Nemes reports.

[Nemes] Why does Hungary think it should be the first Eastern country to be admitted to the EU? What have we been doing for our minorities and environmental protection? Does the Hungarian population also wish to enter the EU or is it just the government's intention? These were the questions with which representatives of the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee bombarded Gyula Horn.

He repeated to them that Hungary had been open to the West for 20 years, reforms were the most substantial here, and only we had a serious preparatory program.

We do need money, external help, as well as for the financing of the exemplary minority law. [sentence as heard]

Regarding the Hungarian population, there is a national consensus on joining the EU. However, that consensus does not apply to NATO.

Horn pointed out he had supported the idea of joining NATO from the beginning. Regarding the EU, he would welcome the deepening of integration and the introduction of the principal of majority vote.

Horn added that if Hungary is admitted to the community, it will not veto Romania's possible entry, because the membership of the region's countries represents a national interest for the Hungarians, including the Hungarians living outside Hungary's borders.

### Urges Individual Admission

*LD0902125595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Among the countries applying for EU membership, only Hungary has a concrete program of preparation for membership, Gyula Horn has

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told the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament. The Hungarian prime minister, who is currently visiting Brussels, presented this document to leaders of the European Union. Horn stressed to members of the European Parliament that, in order to implement the modernization program and attract foreign capital to Hungary, it is necessary that the exact date of talks on Hungary's accession be set by the EU next year.

The Hungarian prime minister is of the view that accession to the EU should not be determined by groups of countries but individually, in accordance with a given country's development.

## Foreign Minister Interviewed on EU, NATO

*BR1002100895 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 9 Feb 95 p A15*

[Article on interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by Rolf Eriksson in Budapest; no date given: "Hungary on Its Way Into the EU"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Budapest—Hungary has taken an important step in the direction of full membership in the EU and NATO. Relations with Slovakia and Romania have thawed and the question of Hungarian minorities abroad has been given the highest priority.

These are the most important advances made in Hungarian foreign policy since the change of government a little over six months ago, Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs claimed in a conversation with DAGENS NYHETER at the foreign ministry in Budapest. Today, Thursday, he begins an official two-day visit to Sweden.

"My visit to Stockholm reflects Hungary's interest in strengthening contacts with new EU members and in hearing about their experiences during membership negotiations," he said.

### EU Member by the Year 2000

Hungary hopes to start membership negotiations after the EU's intergovernmental conference in 1996 and is aiming at full membership by the year 2000.

Laszlo Kovacs has long experience as a top diplomat in the Hungarian foreign ministry. When the Socialist Party (the reformed former Communist Party) won a runaway victory in the elections last spring and put together a broad coalition with the liberal Free Democrats, it was natural for Prime Minister Gyula Horn to appoint Kovacs foreign minister.

Horn and Kovacs are considered close and to "speak with the same voice" on foreign policy matters. When Horn was foreign minister in Hungary's last Communist-led government, between May 1989 and the first free elections in Hungary in May 1990, Kovacs was his under secretary of state in the foreign ministry.

It was then that Gyula Horn wrote his name in the history books as the man behind the decision to open Hungary's borders to refugees from the German Democratic Republic. This marked the beginning of the dissolution of the Eastern Bloc and the fall of the Berlin Wall in the autumn of 1989.

Laszlo Kovacs lists the three principal aims of the new government's foreign policy: Hungary should be integrated into Western Europe and the North Atlantic community. This means that the country wants to obtain full membership in the EU and NATO. An application for EU membership has already been submitted.

"We are convinced that economic and social modernization of Hungary is impossible without full integration into the Euro-Atlantic community," Laszlo Kovacs said.

The second main objective is to create the best possible relations between Hungary and its neighboring countries. The tense links that characterized relations with Slovakia and Hungary under the previous conservative government are now starting to thaw.

"The only way to achieve a settlement with our neighbors is to conduct a dialogue based on mutual understanding. This promotes stability in the area and serves our national security interests," Kovacs said.

Furthermore, the EU has made it completely clear that it will not admit new members with unresolved conflicts among them.

The background to the differences among the three countries are the conditions of the Hungarian minorities in Slovakia and Romania. In Slovakia there are about 600,000 ethnic Hungarians, and there are close to 2 million in Romania.

The previous conservative government wanted to have guarantees for the minorities' rights first. After that, it would begin negotiations between the countries.

Horn's government has done the opposite. It has offered Slovakia and Romania treaties of friendship in order to talk later about the Hungarian minorities.

### Support for Minorities

The third main objective stated by Laszlo Kovacs is therefore support for the Hungarian minorities. The demand is that their minority rights in Slovakia and Romania, and also in Serbian Vojvodina, be recognized, guaranteed, and observed in accordance with international agreements. Talks with the Slovakians have gone well; Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has visited Budapest.

Contacts with Romania have been difficult since the ethnic Hungarians' party in parliament in Bucharest has been attacked by a Romanian nationalist party that has demanded that the Hungarian party be dissolved.

This year Hungary is chairman of the European security organization, OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], (the former CSCE).

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"This has meant new opportunities for Hungary to establish contacts. This involves great responsibility, but if we handle it well, it will naturally increase Hungary's international prestige," Laszlo Kovacs said.

### Official Meets With Minority Representatives

*LD0902221695 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 2000 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Csaba Tabajdi, political state secretary at the prime minister's office in charge of relations with Hungarian minorities outside the country's borders, has held talks with representatives of Hungary's ethnic Slovaks and Romanians to coordinate positions. The basic treaties with Romania and Slovakia respectively, and the minority protection agreement complementing the treaties, were the matters discussed.

The Hungarian Government views minorities as being sovereign political entities and believes that all minorities are active participants in shaping interstate relations, including the basic treaties and minority protection agreements. Thus said Csaba Tabajdi after his talks with leaders of Hungary's Romanians and Slovaks. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording of Gyoergy Petrusan, chairman of the Federation of Romanians in Hungary] We should resolve, at last, the issues that have been delayed for a long time. These include the question of parliamentary representation for minorities—something that, in my view, Hungary cannot delay for much longer. Hungary cannot afford the luxury of failing to ensure that we are represented in parliament, which is even stipulated by the country's laws. [end recording]

The minority leaders also urged the building of a stronger and more advanced system of cultural institutions. Hungary's ethnic Romanians want to have two multifunctional institutions: a Romanian Orthodox Church center and a cultural center.

The Hungarian minorities consider it regrettable that, although their views are also incorporated in the draft of the basic treaty and the minority protection agreement, neither of the mother countries [Slovakia and Romania] contacted them with regard to these issues.

### MDF Concerned About Financial Nominations

*LD0902155495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] expressed its concern over the planned personnel changes at the head of the National Bank of Hungary and the Ministry of Finance, and in the Ministry of Culture and Education.

According to the MDF Presidium, the appointment of new leaders will mean nothing if principles and methods that have led to political conflicts and increasing social discontent do not change. The opposition MDF believes that the Hungarian Socialist Party is practically assisting the assertion of the so-called aggressive endeavors of the junior government coalition party, the Alliance of Free Democrats.

### Proposed Officials Assessed

*AU0902183095 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Feb 95 p 11*

[Article by "F.B.-P.E.-Zs.P": "A Pair for Stabilization—Bokros and Suranyi Have the Same Principles"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to their former statements, both Lajos Bokros, who has been proposed as finance minister, and Gyorgy Suranyi, who is to return to head the Hungarian National Bank [MNB] after three years' absence, are committed to the reform of the state administration. The experts, who are known to be friends, are also known to be strict monetarists who firmly criticized excessive state spending and the increased indebtedness. Both are well known in foreign investment circles. Bokros, who is known to be in favor of developing the capital market, might also have new ideas on financing the state administration's deficit. They do not yet wish to talk about their programs in public; therefore, we can only anticipate their ideas from their recent statements.

Suranyi, director of the Central-European International Bank (CIB), was also among the bankers who firmly criticized the MNB's draft monetary guidelines for 1995 and the already implemented drastic measures to contract the money supply. Rather than questioning the need for these measures, he found their method and level unacceptable. Similarly to other bankers, he believed that high interest rates kill the economy, and good programs that are worth developing also fall victim to the central bank's monetary policy. Among the measures to contract the money supply, he accepts raising the reserve ratio—namely, the level of segregated reserves in proportion to the bank deposits. He also urged stricter reserves when he was central bank chairman, but at that time this was accompanied by a raised interest rate paid on the reserves. Recently, he has again called attention to adequate interest compensation. At the expert debate held at the end of 1994, he spoke against the central bank's—as he sees it—somewhat revaluating exchange rate policy, saying that this has to be changed in order to make exports more competitive. In the view of observers, this indicates that he is in favor of bigger devaluation. Suranyi considers it necessary to reform the state administration and to reduce the growing deficit. In his view, the foreign debt must not be allowed to increase. As is known, the central bank recently decided that it would only inform the government as regards the monetary guidelines after the new chairman has seen them. This will give the new MNB chairman an opportunity to represent the central bank's monetary policy after having an actual say in it. Changes are possible precisely due to Suranyi's criticisms of monetary policy.

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However, they will probably be introduced within the framework of a strategy coordinated with the finance ministry.

Lajos Bokros, the nominee for the position of finance minister, is in favor of reforming the state administration and wishes to conduct a committed monetary policy. Just like Suranyi, he did not wish to give an interview about his nomination, either. Therefore, we can anticipate his expected steps from his former interviews.

After the general elections in 1994, Bokros told HETI VILAGGAZDASAG that he would not accept a governmental position, although his name was already back then being mentioned as a possible state secretary.

He will presumably lay great emphasis on changing the banking system, and he will have the possibility to do this, as the finance ministry is the owner of the majority of banks. As is indicated by his statements, he is in favor of controlled structural change. Banks have to have an injection of capital when possible and worthwhile, but billions of forints must not be wasted on hopeless banks, he said in an interview.

At the time of the government change, he welcomed that privatization and the State Property Management Corporation would operate under the supervision of the finance ministry. In his view, the ministry has to have confidence in those carrying out privatizations and must not exert pressure on them for privatization to serve short-term interests. Rather than using these amounts to fill the gaps in the budget, the long-term interests of the enterprises have to be borne in mind, he said. Management of the budget-financed bodies might be tightened, because according to Bokros, these organizations must not dispose of temporarily free amounts of money. He said, previously, that using these amounts for investments cannot be allowed.

Bokros will definitely have to resign his position of chairman of the Stock Exchange Council if he accepts the position of finance minister. We learned from the legal department of the Budapest Stock Exchange [BET] that all this will probably be discussed at next week's session of the Stock Exchange Council. If Bokros is appointed, the council, then reduced to six members, will elect an executive chairman from among its members who will temporarily carry out the chairman's tasks. The chairman of the Stock Exchange Council is elected by the general assembly, but at the moment it is not yet clear if this will take place at the BET's regular annual general assembly—which would probably be convened for mid-April—or, similarly to two years ago, at another general assembly.

## Kovacs: Hungary Interested in Swedish Planes

*BR0902152695 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 8 Feb 95 p A7*

[Report on interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by Rolf Eriksson in Budapest; date not given: "Hungary Studying JAS Fighter"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Budapest—Hungary is interested in the Swedish JAS-39 Gripen fighter aircraft. It is one of the options that will be examined when the Hungarian Air Force gets modernized with 20-30 new aircraft some time after the turn of the century. Thus said Laszlo Kovacs, Hungary's foreign minister, to DAGENS NYHETER. He has "certain sympathies" for the offers of industrial cooperation that Saab-Scania and the JAS industry group have extended to Hungary in the event of an aircraft sale.

Kovacs received DAGENS NYHETER in his office at the foreign ministry in Budapest, which has a view of the Danube and the parliament on the other side of the river. On Thursday [9 February] Kovacs arrives in Sweden for a two-day visit that includes talks in Linkoping with representatives of the JAS project.

He will also meet Defense Minister Thage G. Peterson and Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson.

### Russian Planes Worn-Out

The visit has been preceded by rumors that Hungary is preparing the purchase of modern fighter jets. Kovacs admitted that there have been discussions within the Hungarian Government about modernizing the Air Force.

At the turn of the century Hungary's old Russian MiG-21's and MiG-23's will be worn-out. It will still have modern MiG-29's, but Hungary, which hopes to be a NATO member by that time, will then need between 20 and 30 new, modern fighter jets.

"We are still far from a decision, and before we reach one all options must be considered carefully. The JAS-39 Gripen is one of these options," said Kovacs, who emphasized that the visit to Linkoping is merely of an informal nature, to let representatives of the JAS group present the Gripen to the Hungarian delegation.

"In other words I am not going to Linkoping on Thursday to buy aircraft," he joked.

Kovacs said that Saab had made informal contacts with the former conservative government in Budapest a couple of years ago. At the time, Kovacs was chairman of the Hungarian parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee. These contacts have now been renewed with the new socialist-dominated government before Kovacs' visit to Sweden.

### Favorable Conditions

"I understand that the major part of Saab's offer remains unchanged."

According to Laszlo Kovacs, the following are the most important aspects of the offer:

—If Hungary buys the JAS-37 Gripen, Sweden will in return initiate industrial cooperation. Sweden would

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commit itself to buying industrial and agricultural products from Hungary, which would stimulate that country's export sector.

—Aircraft industry cooperation would be initiated. Hungary would be permitted to manufacture certain parts for the JAS aircraft, which would give a boost to the Hungarian aircraft industry.

—Very favorable terms of payment.

"We understand that both the former conservative government and the present social-democratic government have lent their support to Saab's offer. Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson has raised the issue with Prime Minister Gyula Horn. Former Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas, as well as the present foreign minister, have talked to us about this. So we understand that Sweden is anxious to find new buyers for the JAS Gripen," smiled Laszlo Kovacs, who stressed that no official negotiations with Sweden on the JAS 37 Gripen have ever taken place. It has been a question of informal contacts.

"But if Hungary in one, two, three, or more years makes a decision regarding the procurement of aircraft, all offers will of course be examined, and the JAS Gripen is one of them."

Laszlo Kovacs stated that a number of factors will then be taken into account: the price, payment methods, and possible industrial cooperation.

"The reason why I personally have certain sympathies for Saab-Scania's bid is Sweden's offer of industrial cooperation," Laszlo Kovacs declared finally.

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## Oleksy To Decide on Prime Ministership Next Week

*LD0902135395 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] After today's meeting with President Lech Walesa, Jozef Oleksy said that he would make a final decision about accepting the post of prime minister by the end of next week, because he had to have more assurances as to the unity of the coalition. He also excluded the possibility of carrying out a constructive vote of no-confidence in Waldemar Pawlak's government during the next Sejm session.

[Begin Oleksy recording] I held talks with the president in my capacity as a Sejm speaker, so it was a general conversation, and we did not talk about governmental configurations and ministerial posts because this was not the nature of the meeting.

At present, I also will not say if I am going to undertake this task. I accepted the difficult task of conducting consultations, which could be concluded by such a decision. But you are aware that these are very difficult situations, and everything is quite complicated so I cannot declare and determine that I accept the post of prime minister. [end recording]

## Government Formation, Likely Ministers Viewed

*WS0902155095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Feb 95 pp 1-2*

[Article by Ewa K. Czaczkowska, Eliza Olczyk, and Jan Bazyl Lipszyc: "Consultations on Composition of New Cabinet Started; President Approves Oleksy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 8 February, the president approved a proposal that Jozef Oleksy undertake the mission of forming a new cabinet. "The president does not object to the candidacy of Jozef Oleksy and expects to meet with him shortly," said Lech Walesa's spokesman, Leszek Spalinski.

According to unofficial information, the meeting may be held as early as today. Yesterday, 8 February, Jozef Oleksy had a long talk with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak.

### First Budget, Then Government

Politicians of the coalition are saying that, before the motion requesting the holding of a constructive no-confidence vote is submitted, the president should withdraw from the Constitutional Tribunal the motion requesting a ruling on whether the budget law is in keeping with the Constitution. Stating that this was only his personal opinion, Marek Borowski of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] said that he could not see the possibility of a different sequence of events. Unless the president withdraws the motion from the tribunal, the coalition should wait until the issue is resolved. Deputies of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] recall that the president made a promise a few days ago: if Prime Minister Pawlak went, he would withdraw the motion from the tribunal.

"There is no government that can work without a budget, regardless of whether it is a government headed by Pawlak or by Oleksy," the peasants believe. However, according to unofficial information, the president does not intend to withdraw the budget law from the Constitutional Tribunal.

The problem of the budget may delay the establishment of a new government, even though all those concerned would like the government formed as soon as possible.

### Who Will Run the Economy?

The order of the steps that should be taken has not been fully determined yet. The peasants are saying that, just as was the case when the Pawlak government was being formed, both clubs should first sign the coalition accord, and only then can Jozef Oleksy begin selecting the appropriate people for his cabinet. SLD members, however, believe that the situation is now different and that this is why Oleksy should first select the people for the future Council of Ministers; only then could the coalition accord be signed. It is already clear that negotiations on the new coalition accord will be tough. The peasants imagine that the accord should now be reversed: If the prime minister is appointed by the SLD, the economy should be run by the PSL. However, the SLD representatives think otherwise.

"Unless the PSL members have someone else who would implement the Strategy for Poland better than Grzegorz Kolodko, they are welcome to present him," said Borowski, and added that, in his judgment, the Strategy ought to be implemented by its author. Marek Borowski's idea of negotiations on the composition of a new cabinet involves the evaluation of the work of the individual ministers. If they are implementing the government's policy and there are no substantive reservations about them, they can be candidates for ministers in the new cabinet. It seems, however, that this model of negotiations will not be accepted by the PSL. As early as 7 February they stressed that they would be no easier in negotiating with the SLD than the SLD was with them.

On 8 February, the PSL deputies were outraged by the decision made by their leaders—that Prime Minister Pawlak would step down. However, it was stressed that they received the decision with understanding.

"We are not satisfied because, inasmuch as the government was working well and the economic indicators were satisfactory, why change the prime minister and his cabinet?" the deputies ask. As they see it, "the president will also fight" against the new government.

"The new government will be headed by a 'commie,' which will be another argument the president can use to fight against the new cabinet," says PSL Deputy Wladyslaw Wrona. He thinks that the time of the Polish People's

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Republic is returning, the time when the peasants stood in the second row. "Again, as we did for 50 years, we will have a Sejm speaker, two ministers—of agriculture and health—and three voivodes. The comrades have not been in quarantine long enough," they said.

**Parity and Reform of the Center**

"The parity and the composition of the government depends on the number of seats a party has in the parliament, as well as on the agreements reached with the president. This is how governments in other countries are formed," said Aleksander Kwasniewski when asked about the composition of the new government of the coalition. He stated that the coalition has been working for 15 months now and that it is much easier to specify the common programmatic minimum and reach an agreement on personnel issues.

According to him, most of the ministers in the Pawlak Cabinet did a good job, and there is no reason they should be replaced.

Aleksander Kwasniewski said that the composition of the government will depend on whether the coalition decides to form it on the basis of the structure used thus far, or whether it decides to reform the center at the same time, by establishing the ministry of the economy and the institution of the state treasury.

If the coalition decides to reform the center in this manner, there is talk in the SLD that there might be a conflict between the SLD and Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko, who has a different vision of reforming the center. A candidate for the economy minister might be Marek Borowski. He himself believes that currently it will not be possible to implement the reform because of a lack of appropriate laws; therefore, it will be necessary to form a government with the same structure. If this actually happened, it cannot be ruled out that, instead of ministers, only directors of ministries would be appointed in the ministries that are likely to be merged.

**President Wants Olechowski**

We have found out unofficially that Lech Walesa would like the portfolio of the foreign minister to be taken over once again by Andrzej Olechowski. He also insists upon the candidacy of Wojciech Okonski as head of the National Defense Ministry.

Both these candidacies are unacceptable to the coalition. Even though the SLD recognizes the competence of Andrzej Olechowski, the party would have to choose between him and Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz because, after "clean hands," they cannot be members of the same government. Thus, the office of the foreign minister might be assumed by Janusz Ziolkowski of the President's Chancellery.

If Cimoszewicz were not included among the members of the new government, this would entail a conflict with his faction within the SLD. Even though it is evaluated that now that the "clean hands" campaign has been carried out Cimoszewicz's supporters are less numerous than before, they still are a force to be reckoned with in the SLD. The coalition has not changed its negative opinion of Okonski.

Thus, as far as the presidential ministries are concerned, the only candidacy that seems certain is the candidacy of Andrzej Milczanowski for the post of internal affairs minister.

**Who Will Hold Offices in Government?**

"I cannot imagine the new prime minister calmly tolerating the presence of ministers at whom public allegations were leveled. This calls for explanations, and a high ranking state official cannot spend his time in a court of law trying to exonerate himself," said Aleksander Kwasniewski. He also ruled out the possibility of allowing the PSL to take control of the economic ministries because "these must be run by experts."

For the time being, there is a lot of speculation and guesswork about the new government, and there is virtually no absolutely certain information. It seems that where the SLD ministers are concerned, apart from Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz and Grzegorz Kolodko (who is also accepted by the PSL), other ministers who will keep their offices are Construction Minister Barbara Blida and perhaps Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek and Health Minister Ryszard Zochowski. Kaczmarek is also said to be a candidate for the head of the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM]; however, he himself claims that no one has offered this post to him and, besides, he prefers to do what he has been doing so far. The office of URM head might also be taken by Leszek Miller or Jerzy Szmajdzinski.

It looks like only three PSL ministers can hope to stay in the government: Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak, Environmental Protection Minister Stanislaw Zelichowski, and Central Planning Administration Head Miroslaw Pietrewicz. It seems certain that several people will have to go: URM Head Michal Strak, Agriculture Minister Andrzej Smietanko, Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister Leslaw Podkanski, and Main Customs Office Director Ireneusz Sekula.

## Comment: Outcome of Latest Political Developments

*WS0902155695 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Feb 95 p 5*

[Commentary by Krzysztof Gottesman: "Tension Will Remain"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Chances that the appointment of Jozef Oleksy for prime minister will calm the political scene in Poland are slim. Waldemar Pawlak's departure is only one of the preconditions.

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First, one may expect that relations between the new government, particularly the new prime minister, and the president will be no better than they were previously. The president, despite his official approval, might consider the nomination of the leader of Social Democracy of Poland as a continuation of the hitherto status quo, perhaps even as a political provocation of sorts. This is definitely not the type of solution he had in mind when he demanded that changes be made. One may thus hardly expect an armistice between the government and the president. Although the variant of a constructive no-confidence vote the coalition is most likely to resort to when overhauling the government reduces the role of the president, one may hardly expect that he will abstain from exerting influence on the cabinet appointments. Huge conflicts may arise in that field.

The agreement the coalition reached on Tuesday does not seem to have solved the problems within the Polish Peasant Party-Democratic Left Alliance [PSL-SLD] coalition itself. Initial statements issued by individual politicians already show how different their views on the technical details of creating a new government are. Aleksander Kwasniewski has made a claim that the number of ministerial posts held by his party should be proportional to the seats held in the Sejm. The SLD, of course, has more. Michal Strak, who will now cease to be head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, says his party has lost a set with the SLD but that the game is not yet over. Janusz Piechocinski believes that the dismissal of Waldemar Pawlak is not yet definite. The PSL made a claim to the key economic ministries. It is highly unlikely that in these circumstances the two parties are capable of forming a solid cabinet pursuing common objectives. One should rather expect guerrilla warfare and mutual attacks. This will undoubtedly benefit the president. It will be easier for him to attack a conflict-ridden government and point out its weak points.

The overhaul of the government will also have an impact on the internal situation within both coalition groupings. Someone will have to be held responsible for the "lost set" in the PSL. This need not necessarily be the prime minister. Interdependencies and common interests joining the PSL leaders and the lack of a significant countercandidate may cause the coming party congress to decide that the focal point of its attention should be the presidential campaign, and that the only candidate standing any chance for election remains Pawlak. His position, however, will not be as strong as it was several weeks ago, especially because the sprouting SLD opposition will definitely be bound to grow in power.

The situation in the SLD is only seemingly different. The party is trying to project a public image of being consolidated and uniform. There are sporadic signals, however, that it is difficult to speak of unity within that group. Several days ago, the only candidate for prime minister was Aleksander Kwasniewski. He personally and his party colleagues said so. Yet things turned out differently. It is rather unlikely that this was the outcome of strategic talks with the coalition partner and an outmaneuvering of the president. Perhaps Kwasniewski was not set on heading the government in light of the coming elections. From his point of view, it was better to appoint Oleksy, whose aspirations of winning the elections are widely known. After all, it will be easier to run for the presidency from the position of one who is not directly responsible for current developments.

When the crisis of Waldemar Pawlak's Cabinet reached its peak, many politicians and analysts thought the only solution was to hold premature parliamentary elections. Not much has happened to disprove that claim since then. The president is not likely to be satisfied with the most recent decisions, there will be no agreement in the coalition, and the new government will be formed more as a result of compromise and the will to persevere rather than because of a joint vision to solve problems.

### Aircraft Violate Eastern Border, Polish Airspace

*LD0902172595 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1518 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Bialystok, 9 Feb—The second act of violation of Polish airspace by an aircraft approaching from the east occurred at about noon today. The aircraft was a white monoplane, which for a time was observed on Air Force radar, Leszek Czech, commander of the Podlaski Border Guard Detachment, told PAP. The incident probably involves smuggling.

The first report of an aircraft that entered Polish airspace this morning was of a Lithuanian An-2. It landed in a meadow near Grajewo (Lomza Province). According to an eyewitness, cited by Radio Bialystok, the biplane hit a tree on landing and broke one of its wings. Next, several men transloaded its cargo into a vehicle, set the damaged plane on fire, and drove off. Police are conducting an inquiry into the case.

The second aircraft was noticed as it appeared over Polish territory. It too set course for Grajewo. The Border Guard reported this to the Air Force and the Air Defense Troops. The aircraft was not seen to be heading back east.

Since mid-1993, Polish airspace has been violated across the eastern border by several dozen unidentified aircraft. According to the police and the Border Guard, this involves the smuggling of people and goods by air on an international scale.

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## Vacaroiu Denies Rumor of 'Spectacular' Devaluation

*AU0902163695 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview today with one of our radio correspondents, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu referred, among other things, to the discussions he held recently with the representatives of the Civil-Liberal Alliance. He said there is no intention to draft a new law on privatization, but rather to amend this law so that one can speedily reach the stage where the ownership certificates and nominal coupons can be exchanged for new ones and the shares can be put up for sale. The Alliance's proposal to issue a second series of certificates is a known alternative. The government agrees to it, but not within the framework of the present law, since the government considers it necessary to elaborate a new law to cover the rest of the companies, which are not envisaged in the present draft law on accelerating privatization.

Speaking of the rumors of a spectacular drop in the leu's value compared to the U.S. dollar, the prime minister termed them "false and erroneous." He also termed false the allegation that the current exchange rate is artificial. Mr. Vacaroiu said we have sufficient hard currency reserves.

The prime minister also referred to the drop in interest rates in keeping with the drop in inflation. He said this process has already started, with the National Bank's having recently reduced the reference interest rates, something that is in step with the efforts under way to maintain the stability of the currency and to keep inflation in check. No trade company or enterprise has any justification for increasing the prices of their products. On the contrary, they must to strive to reduce them, Vacaroiu said.

In conclusion, Vacaroiu referred to the Atlanta meeting, saying it is only a regular seminar, the fifth of its kind on the subject of the relationship between the majority and the minority. The government will not officially participate in the seminar, attended by the parties and various experts. The seminar will examine the basic principles and forms of the overall relationship between the majority and minority. Therefore, it does not amount to negotiations between the representatives of the government and the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania.

## Spokesman Accuses Bela Marko of Spreading Lies

*AU0902202995 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview granted our radio station, the spokesman of the Romanian presidency, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, stated that the remarks and statements made by UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] president Bela Marko to the BBC are an expression of aggressive nationalism, which is the major destabilizing factor today, not only for Romania but for all of Europe as well. These actions are part of the propaganda upon which certain UDMR leaders have embarked to spread false facts and even lies about Romania's history and about the situation of the Hungarian minority in our country in Western political circles and among the public in the West, exploiting their genuine interest in human rights in general and for the protection of the identity of minorities in particular.

The act of repeating false facts and lies, even if it is done systematically, does not turn them into truths, said Mr. Traian Chebeleu in the interview that he granted our radio station this afternoon.

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### Sandzak Body Says Bosnian Serb Embargo Violated

*AU0902175395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the information center of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak, 2,000 specialist troops have been trained in the area of (Kraljevo) for the fronts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly the Bihac front. The areas of (Gos) and Kopaonik have also been used for the training of these soldiers.

Following the introduction of the so-called embargo against Karadzic's Serbs, the army of the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia has cleared through several new roads on the border with the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. For example, near the official border crossing of Gradac, the army has used bulldozers to clear through a new, roundabout road, which the international observers on the border are well aware of. These wild crossings are not controlled by anyone, while the authorities of Serbia and Montenegro persistently claim that the embargo is being complied with.

### SDA Sets Recognition as Precondition for Summit

*AU0902182195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[Report by Samir Huseinovic on an SDA news conference in Sarajevo on 9 February—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Ismet Grbo [spokesman for the SDA, Party of Democratic Action] stressed that the intensive contacts established by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and Government, and our diplomatic activities have greatly contributed to the strengthening of the international position of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Moscow's new political attitude supports this view. Prime Minister Silajdzic's visit to the Russian Federation has resulted in Moscow's clear commitment to those countries that support the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders. Moscow has sent an official invitation to Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic for the ceremony marking 9 May, Victory Over Fascism Day, as a recognition of sorts to the just struggle of our citizens against the dark forces of fascism.

Dr. Grbo assessed the policy of the United States as not active enough, but, considering the initial indifference toward the situation in Bosnia, particularly during the first few months of the aggression, some progress has certainly been made.

Safet Halilovic, chairman of the SDA's Sarajevo Committee, stressed that the international community supports the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its internationally recognized borders. Bosnia-Herzegovina should not have any prejudice as far as successful policy is concerned. Therefore, contacts with Belgrade would not damage the position of Bosnia-Herzegovina but, of course, there has to be a clear commitment to the integrity of our country. Following the mutual recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia, and the so-called FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], a meeting could be held between Izetbegovic, Milosevic, and Tudjman, which would doubtless influence the situation in our country and the solution to the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. This was how Safet Halilovic, chairman of the SDA's Sarajevo Committee finished the news conference.

### Zubak Receives German Contact Group Ambassador

*LD0902230095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] President of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina Kresimir Zubak today received Ambassador Michael Steiner, the German representative to the Contact Group. Johannes Preisinger, Germany's ambassador to our country, also attended the talks. During the talks, particular attention was paid to the implementation of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina constitution and other current political issues.

President Zubak thanked Ambassador Steiner for comprehensive efforts made by Germany to resolve the crisis in former Yugoslavia, accommodate refugees, and provide humanitarian aid.

Steiner said Germany would continue to offer support for the removal of obstacles that prevent the establishment of the Federation. With regard to the Contact Group plan, he said no changes were envisaged and that representatives of the five Contact Group countries were unanimous in this respect.

Both sides concluded it was necessary to resolve all contentious issues as the setting up of the Federation is an appropriate solution for Bosniaks and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

### General Smith's View of Mandate Explained

*AU0902164895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The representatives of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in Sarajevo today said that [UNPROFOR Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina] General Rupert Smith believes that he is here only as the commander of UNPROFOR for Bosnia-Herzegovina. That is his view, and all the public relations and more detailed information is in the hands of the spokesmen of the military and civilian sectors of the UN peacekeepers. He does not believe that he is here to comment on the views of the United Nations, explained Aleksandr Ivanko, spokesman of the civilian office of UNPROFOR, in UNPROFOR headquarters today, adding that he is not sure that the media will have a chance to talk to Gen. Smith directly. Gen. Smith has still not talked even to the representatives of the British

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media, Ivanko said, thus stressing the view of the commander of the UN peacekeepers in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

### SDA Demands UN Secure Release of Reporter

*AU0902165295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the kidnapping of Namik Berberovic, reporter and director of Television Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] lodged a protest note on 28 January with General Rupert Smith, commander of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since there has been no adequate response, i.e. reporter Berberovic has not been released, the SDA has presented the note to the public:

In connection with the kidnapping of Mr. Namik Berberovic, reporter and director of Television Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo, from a UN transporter, we are expressing our bitterness by lodging this protest note. This incident, as a repeated terrorist act committed by Karadzic's chetniks after the murder of Mr. Hakija Turajlic, deputy prime minister in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government [murdered by the Serbs after UNPROFOR permitted them to take him out of an armored personnel carrier], indicates that certain forces within the Sarajevo Headquarters of UNPROFOR support the Serbian terrorist activities, and are thus operating outside the mandate of their mission. We demand that you obtain the immediate release of the imprisoned reporter, and give an explanation to the public in connection with this incident, says the protest note from the SDA to Bosnia-Herzegovina UNPROFOR Commander Gen. Rupert Smith.

### B-H Serbs 'Borrowed' Electric Power From FRY

*AU0902153895 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 27 Jan 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] We have marked a significant improvement in the hydrologic situation that, until recently, was very critical on the territory of the Srpska republic. Due to the melting of the snow, the water levels of the Drina and Vrbas Rivers, as well as of the reservoir lakes of the Knin hydroelectric power plants, have increased. Improved hydroelectric potential has permitted an increase in electric power production in hydroelectric power plants and a greater output of power to the electric-power system. The Bocac hydroelectric power plant has consequently managed to triple its production from 21 January this year.

In the past couple of days, the electric-power output of the Bocac hydroelectric power plant has ranged from 450,000 KWH to 1.342 million KWH on 26 Jan, 1995. The electric-power output of the Jajce I and Jajce II hydroelectric power plants was approximately the same as at Bocac, or somewhat higher. Allowing for the water inflow in the past couple of days, the estimated production of the Bocac hydroelectric power plant will be about 1.5 million KWH. That means that the inflow of water and warm weather have enabled hydroelectric power plants to operate at peak capacity, i.e. to produce more electric power. Regarding power cuts, I believe they are still a necessity, because the Serbian Republic Power Industry borrowed, i.e. arranged for a loan of electric-power, amounting to about 400 million kwh, and it is now obliged to repay it. The EPS (Electric-Power Industry of Serbia) demands that we return the borrowed amount of electric-power.

Serbian Republic Power Industry officials told us that, globally speaking, we still do not have enough electric power and power cuts will remain on the territory of the entire republic. We can expect better effects only after the Gacko thermoelectric power plant is connected to the system, although every possible surplus of electric power will be used to repay the debt to Electric-Power Industry of Serbia and Montenegro.

### Helicopters in Action Assumed To Originate in FRY

*AU0902215795 Paris AFP in English 2137 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb 9 (AFP)—United Nations forces in Bosnia counted 62 flights by helicopters in the eastern part of the country during a four day period and "assume" they originated in rump Yugoslavia, a UN spokesman said in Belgrade Thursday [9 February].

A spokesman for the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said the flights were observed between February 1 and 4. UN sources in Zagreb said on Sunday that "15 to 20" helicopters were observed on February 3 in eastern Bosnia.

"UNPROFOR has no definite proof as to the origin of the helicopters yet the assumption was that they came from the Federal Repuiblic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)," Yuri Chizhik, a spokesman for UNPROFOR, said.

"We cannot confirm it, but the assumption was there." He added that UNPROFOR's failure to identify the helicopters and to confirm the area from which they came was due to the fact that UN military observers in the Belgrade airport area have been refused access to radars since the beginning of this month. He said the helicopters, mostly MI-8s of Soviet manufacture, operated by night in groups, making it difficult for UN personnel on the ground to identify them.

Chizhik said UNPROFOR was trying to step up its contacts with the Yugoslav military authorities to gain regular access to the radars. The Yugoslav armed forces denied on Monday that they had violated Bosnian air space.

Serbia shut down its borders with Bosnian Serb territory last August to show the world it wanted the Bosnian Serbs to accept the international peace plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina, which required the Bosnian Serbs to relinquish a little under one third of the territory they now hold and settle for 49 percent.

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### HDZ Calls For Improved Relations With Muslims

*LD0902182495 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Presidency of the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] of Bosnia-Herzegovina held its ninth regular session today, with the additional attendance of members of the main secretariat and members of county committees of the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Examining issues relevant to its work, particularly political and security conditions on the territory of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the functioning of the government system of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna and the implementation of decisions and conclusions that were earlier adopted—following an exhaustive discussion—the presidency of the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina has made a number of decisions, assessments, and conclusions.

The Presidency of the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina urges all institutions of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna and officials of the Croat people in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to continue working on preserving and improving positive relations between signatories to the agreement.

The Presidency of the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina has concluded that, in order to make the government of Herceg-Bosna function more efficiently, vacant posts within the Presidential Council ought to be urgently filled in according to the decision on the proclamation of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna and the set-up of the government of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna in keeping with the law on the government of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna. [passage omitted]

### Izetbegovic Reportedly Orders Eviction of Croats

*LD1002032095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1840 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 9 (TANJUG)—Alija Izetbegovic has ordered Muslim troops to forcefully enter Croat homes in the town of Tuzla and evict the people living there, Muslim radio Tuzla said on Thursday.

Izetbegovic's cabinet denied the claims. Muslim-Croat relations in the region of the Muslim enclave Tuzla in eastern Bosnia are deteriorating due to the forceful entry of Muslim troops into several homes.

The local association of Bosnia-Herzegovina democrats said the latest incidents had 'deeply disturbed the citizens.' They demanded an immediate investigation.

The Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia was set up in March 1994 under pressure from the United States but disputes and conflicts between the two partners have not ceased. The Federation only has a president and government, but has never been and constantly accuse each other of undermining it.

### Silajdzic Calls For Humanitarian Airdrops

*LD0902222595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic today received the head of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] civilian sector for former Yugoslavia, Pierre Michel Musali, and head of the UNPROFOR civilian sector for Bosnia-Herzegovina Enrique Aguilar. The meeting was also attended by the chairman of the state commission for cooperation with UNPROFOR, Minister Hasan Muratovic.

Most attention was paid to the grave humanitarian situation in Bihac where almost nothing has been done since the cease-fire came into force. They also had talks about the opening of alternative routes to Bihac. Our side asked why no one has resorted to the airdrop action, irrespective of antiaircraft systems around the town. [words indistinct] that these were the most successful operations in providing humanitarian aid to our population, Prime Minister Silajdzic said.

### Humanitarian Aid Airlift to Sarajevo Resumes

*AU1002104995 Paris AFP in English 0918 GMT 10 Feb 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Feb 10 (AFP)—The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said Friday it was continuing its airlift of humanitarian aid into Sarajevo but that supplies would be stored at the airport and not transported into the city.

"The airlift is continuing but food will not be brought into the city. It will be temporarily stored at the airport," said UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski.

The UNHCR had announced Thursday that, for security reasons, it was suspending its airlift of food and supplies into Sarajevo after police of the mainly Moslem Bosnian governemnt detained two of its employees, of the Croatian and Serb ethnic groups, at a checkpoint. The agency feared that its local drivers transporting supplies from the airport to the city could be endangered at Bosnian Serb checkpoints as long as the two employees were being held.

But Janowksi said that "senior UNHCR management thought it (the airlift) was too important to stop," and later reconsidered their decision. He said Bosnian authorities had told the UN that one of the employees detained, a Croatian national, was released Friday morning, but the second, a Bosnian Serb woman charged with being a spy, was still being held.

Several local journalists said it was possible that Bosnian authorities planned to seek the release of a Bosnian

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journalist kidnapped two weeks ago at a Serb checkpoint in exchange for freeing the woman.

### RS Parties Sign Document Calling For Elections

*AU0902163495 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Nine opposition parties in the Srpska republic [RS] in Banja Luka today signed a special document calling for parliamentary, multiparty elections both in the Srpska republic and throughout the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The parties in question are as follows: the Homeland Front, League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia, National Radical Party Nikola Pasic, Socialist Party, Democratic Party of Federalists, Workers' Alliance, Party of Social Progress, and the Liberal Party. Our Banja Luka correspondent Branislav Bozic has the details.

[Begin Bozic recording] The document signed by the representatives of the aforementioned parties states that new elections are necessary since the current leadership has lost credibility and legitimacy. It is further stated that the situation is identical on all three warring sides and that the present leaderships are incapable of finding the peace formula, while it is believed that new ones could do the job more easily.

In connection with this, it has been proposed that the international community use its mechanisms to declare and secure a six-month moratorium on all military activities in the area of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and at the same time organize elections on all three sides. The document—to be submitted to the Srpska republic assembly, all international mediators, and the public—not once calls into question the existence or survival of the Srpska republic. Along with the document, all the parties will submit several other requests to the Srpska republic assembly, which is scheduled to sit in session in Samac on 13 February. [passage omitted]

The parties also demand that the legal procedures initiated by the Srpska republic leadership against Banja Luka Mayor Predrag Radic for his publicly voiced remarks on the sloppiness in the republic be dropped.

One more thing: Three out of the 12 parties active in the Srpska republic failed to show up at the meeting: the Serbian Radical Party, the Yugoslav Democratic Party, and the Serbian Patriotic Party. [end recording]

### Nine Parties Call For Multiparty Elections

*LD0902173395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—Representatives of nine nonparliamentary parties issued a joint statement in Banja Luka today demanding "multiparty parliamentary elections in the Srpska republic."

The signatories to the statement—the Fatherland Front [Otadzbinski Front], the Liberal Party [Liberalna Stranka], the Communist Alliance-Movement for Yugoslavia [Savez Komunista-Pokret za Jugoslaviju], the Yugoslav Workers' Alliance for Serb Republic, the Party of Serb Unity [Stranka Srpskog Jedinstva], the People's Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka], the Party of Social Prosperity [Stranka Drustvenog Prosperiteta], the Democratic Party of Federalists [Demokratska Stranka Federalista], and the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic—believe that "this will help install legitimate authorities that will be more successful and responsible in solving the backlog of problems troubling the people, primarily in ending the war and restoring peace."

They stress that the current deputies were elected under the Constitution of the former Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that "apart from that, they never received any legitimate confirmation from the electorate." Hence, parliament has 82 instead of 120 deputies, the Srpska republic president was not elected directly but by the parliament, the legislative authorities are not separate from the executive authorities, and everyone's mandate expired in late 1994.

The statement stresses "the conviction that all three nations in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina want peace while their leaders—that have neither legality nor legitimacy—do not want that." The signatories therefore demand of "the international community to proclaim a six-month moratorium on all military activities in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and to suspend negotiations with the current leaderships of the three nations," and "simultaneously hold elections throughout the former Bosnia-Herzegovina."

They also propose that "elections should be held on the basis of a law in whose preparation all political parties in the Srpska republic will take part," "with guarantees from the international community" and "with equal presentation of all parties in public information media."

This statement, as it was stressed, will be forwarded to all international institutions engaged in resolving the crisis on the territory of former SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to the session of the Serb Republic People's Assembly to be held in Samac. The statement also says that the Serb Democratic Party, Serb Radical Party, and Yugoslav Democratic Party did not attend the meeting today.

At a news conference that was held after the statement was released it was also announced that all the parties-signatories to the statement will jointly oppose every possible pressure on their leadership and membership, that they will call for a halt in the persecution of innocent journalists, and that they will also demand the halting of an alleged process for the replacement of Banja Luka Mayor Predrag Radic, which was initiated "because he made his views public."

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### Karadzic Warns of War, Criticizes Moscow Policy

*AU0902182795 Paris AFP in English 1805 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Feb 9 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic warned Thursday [9 February] that the planned withdrawal of UN peacekeeping forces from Croatia would lead to a "major war" involving Croats and Serbs, Moslems and Serbs, and ultimately countries beyond ex-Yugoslavia.

Croatia has ordered the United Nations Protection Force out of the country after its mandate expires on March 31.

It complains that the peacekeepers are an obstacle to the recovery of the quarter of Croatian territory now held by Croatian Serbs as the self-declared republic of Krajina.

Karadzic, interviewed by AFP and Mexican television at his headquarters in Pale, said that if the UN troops left, "First there will be war between Serbian Krajina and Croatia. If Croatia attacks Krajina, we will certainly go defend our brothers and will probably unite with them into a single state."

The Bosnian Serb leader went on: "This could encourage the Moslems to attack us and there would be a major war between Serbs and Croats on the one hand, and Serbs and Moslems on the other. Then it could spread beyond the borders of former Bosnia-Herzegovina and ex-Yugoslavia." He added that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman "may not want war, but he wants Krajina. If he doesn't get it without war, he will choose war. But then he may lose Istria, Dalmatia and Slavonia. He will probably keep Zagreb."

The Bosnian Serb leader also denounced the recent recognition by Russia of the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina as "a big mistake."

"How can you recognize something that does not exist?" he said. "In Bosnia, there are two, even three, states—Serb, Croat and Moslem." Karadzic said a summit meeting of the Croat, Serbian and Bosnian presidents would have no results if the Bosnian Serbs were excluded, and he warned that the fighting in ex-Yugoslavia could rage on for years.

"If the international community continues to practice policies founded on illusions, this region will be wracked by instability for years, even decades," he said. "In recent years, the international community has committed more errors than in 2,000 years of its existence."

"No one can force us to accept Bosnia as a state," he added. "Bosnia has never existed and cannot exist on Serb territory. We will, however, accept the existence of the Croat-Moslem Federation and could possibly even have good relations with it."

Karadzic also said that he would not accept a Bosnia peace plan unless it included the division of Sarajevo into two cities—an idea firmly opposed by the Bosnians—and access to the sea for the Serbs.

"There will be no peace without international recognition of the Serb republic," he said. "If we are not recognized, the Moslems will seek for decades to integrate us into their state, and that means war."

He added that the Bosnian Serbs were "disposed to make peace" but warned that after May 1, the date when the current cease-fire expires, "if the Moslems choose war we will not give up an inch of our territory and will push our enemies back as far as we want."

### Karadzic Welcomes Dialogue With Muslims

*LD0902164095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[Received via fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 9 Feb (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic [RS], in a statement to SRNA today welcomed the readiness of the Muslim side to enter into talks on the final political solution of the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"I would like to stress that the Serb people are not inimically disposed toward the Muslim people but that the time has come for formulas to be found in negotiations, according to which these two peoples would not dominate each other and according to which they would be sovereign and free," Dr. Karadzic stressed.

The RS president stressed that the Serb side is not setting any preconditions for the talks and that it is ready to accept them in the immediate future.

According to President Karadzic, the French proposal for a meeting between Izetbegovic, Tudjman, and Milosevic does not relate to the question of a solution to the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the agreement of Alija Izetbegovic to enter into negotiations cannot be interpreted in this light.

"The talks imply the equal treatment of all sides in the conflict, in other words all sides in the negotiations. We are not setting any other preconditions for the negotiations, other than that there be completely equal treatment of all the negotiators by the international community," President Karadzic concluded.

### UN Reports Serb Offensive To Recapture Areas

*AU0902164995 Paris AFP in English 1631 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Feb 9 (AFP)—Fighting flared Thursday [9 February] in northwest Bosnia, where more than 200 shells crashed into parts of the Bihac pocket as Serb forces tried to regain territory lost to government troops, a UN spokesman reported.

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Two shells fell on Bihac town, a UN-designated safe area, near positions held by Bangladeshi peacekeepers but there were no immediate reports of casualties, Major Herve Gourmelon said. He said the clashes appeared to be an effort by either Bosnian or Croatian Serbs, or both, to recapture areas around the towns of Zegar and Vedro Polje that were lost to mainly Moslem government forces January 13 and 14.

UN monitors reported that 58 shells had fallen in the morning and another 148 in the afternoon. Bosnian Serb and government forces are in principle bound by a four-month cessation of hostilities agreement. But ethnic Serbs from neighboring Croatia and their dissident Moslem allies under Fikret Abdic were not parties to the deal and UN authorities have made little headway getting them to honor at least the spirit of the truce.

Most of the fighting between the Bosnian Army's 5th Corps and Abdic partisans, backed by the Croatian Serbs, has been in the north of the pocket, around the town of Velika Kladusa. Abdic recaptured Velika Kladusa after losing it to Bosnian forces in August.

### Krajisnik Denounces Press Reports on Deputies

*LD0902235395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2135 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[Received via fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 9 Feb (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly of the Srpska republic, issued a statement today denying articles in certain newspapers, especially in Belgrade's VECERNJE NOVOSTI, claiming that the Srpska republic government adopted a bill on the status of deputies, granting the deputies a lifelong immunity.

"The commission for elections and appointments and the commission for mandates and immunity of the Srpska republic's People's Assembly assessed at a joint meeting on 8 February that this is deliberate misinformation aimed at discrediting and dividing the People's Assembly of the Srpska republic," the statement stresses. It adds that in the course of analyzing the financial circumstances and status of the people's deputies, the two commissions also discussed articles in certain papers.

During discussion of the financial circumstances and status of the people's deputies it was established that many of them lived in financially unsatisfactory conditions, that they had problems with accommodation, and that some deputies live below the poverty line, the statement stresses. It adds that it is surprising that the initiative by a group of deputies to solve their status—raised through deputies' questions—should be portrayed as a law by VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

The statement further stresses that "in the interest of truth the public should know that this initiative was not a law and the deputies were given no report on that issue."

"Accusations against the deputies, who have on countless occasions defended their people and accepted to share the people's fate, are dishonorable," the statements adds. It says that "it is obvious that many of those who have publicly accepted the Contact Group's plan and the former Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state are accusing the deputies" [passage indistinct]

The statement goes on to express the belief that the Serb people and the Serb fighters will not fall for the misinformation dished out to them, and that they will, as they have done before, recognize who are the true fighters for the freedom of the Serb people.

"The commission for elections and appointments and the commission for mandates and immunity will advise the People's Assembly to inform the public about the conditions in which the deputies live and work. We are convinced that they will be identical to those in which other people of the Srpska republic live," the statement says in conclusion.

### SDS Says Serbs Desire Peaceful Solution

*LD0902221295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1922 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[Received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 9 February (SRNA)—In continuation of its ninth session the main committee of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands [SDS] has voiced its support for the platform of the Srpska republic state leadership in its search for the peaceful solution of conflicts in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina which leads to the international recognition of the Srpska republic.

In the seven conclusions which were adopted in the course of a discussion on SDS basic activities and the state of affairs in the Srpska republic society, the main committee expressed its commitment to restore peace on the principle of observing realistic national interests.

Confirming full political, national, and state unity, the main committee has condemned all attempts at destabilizing the state through the creation of political, regional and other antagonisms.

With regard to welfare of families of killed soldiers, refugees, and war invalids, the main committee calls on all officials to resolve the accumulated social problems in the Srpska republic more speedily, and called on institutions to get involved to a maximum degree in protecting property and industrial resources.

In conclusions which were adopted in the course of a discussion on the thrust of the party's activities, the SDS has supported all activities being taken in connection with the reorganization of the Srpska republic army and the further strengthening of its defense might.

The main committee has also reiterated the party's commitment to cooperation with all patriotic parties in Serb lands in order to overcome current misunderstandings.

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### Tudjman Calls Government Meeting Over RSK Vote

*AU0902150895 Paris AFP in English 1440 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Feb 9 (AFP)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman called a government meeting Thursday [9 February] to discuss developments after the Croatian Serb "parliament" voted to break off political and economic talks with Zagreb in protest at its decision to expel UN peacekeepers. [passage omitted]

In Wednesday's vote the Croatian Serbs, who hold a quarter of Croatian territory, also proclaimed a state of alert in the area of Croatia they control. The alert involves a major troop mobilization and is one step short of declaring a state of war and general mobilization.

The UN Protection Force meanwhile regretted the suspension of application of an economic accord signed December 2 by Zagreb and the Serb secessionists. Michael Williams, spokesman for UN special envoy to ex-Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi, declared: "We regret very much that Serb authorities in Knin are not willing to push ahead further with the economic agreement, especially when such substantial progress has been made."

### IDS Claims Ethnic Italians' Rights 'Limited'

*LD0902215695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1945 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Feb. 9 (TANJUG)—The Istrian Democratic Alliance (IDS) on Thursday said the Croatian authorities had significantly limited the rights of about 25,000 ethnic Italians by wiping out some provisions of the statute of the Croatian region of Istria.

The IDS, which won the majority of votes in the latest regional elections, seeks autonomy for the Adriatic peninsula. The Istrian Assembly last fall adopted a statute and a decision on an Istrian coat-of-arms and flag as regional symbols.

The Croatian decision to put a ban on the flag, coat-of-arms and other national symbols of ethnic Italians is the result of political pressure exerted on Istria by the ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), the IDS said in a statement. It said decisions of this kind marked a political attempt to divide the citizens on ethnic basis and said it would demand that the Istrians have their say in the matter.

The IDS said such 'politically-colored decisions will not improve Croatia's image in the international community' and would weaken its position in negotiations on reintegration of the UN Protected Areas.

The party said it would inform the international public, the European Union, the Assembly of European Regions (whose member it became last October) and diplomatic missions in Croatia about the revoking of certain articles of the Istrian statute. The party said it firmly stood on the position of anti-fascism, equality and tolerance.

### Turkish, Croatian Officials Hold Talks

*LD0902215295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] A parliamentary delegation from the Republic of Turkey arrived in Croatia this afternoon on a two-day visit. The delegation is headed by Kemal Mimaroglu, the head of the Turkish delegation to the Council of Europe. They were first received by Nedjeljko Mihanovic, the president of the assembly, and then the delegation held talks with the assembly's Foreign Policy Committee. Andjelko Perincic reporting.

[Perincic] Following the talks between the two sides, their heads—Kemal Mimaroglu and Zarko Domljan—held a news conference. The guest was first to speak.

[Begin Mimaroglu recording, in Turkish with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] The Turkish parliamentary delegation is on its first visit to your country. During our stay we would like to see the true state of affairs in the regional crisis area. The Republic of Turkey has supported a peaceful solution to the conflict since the beginning of the crisis. The Turkish National Assembly, which we represent, also advocates a speedy, lasting, stable, and just peace. We would like to contribute to the resumption of the peace efforts. We condemn ethnic cleansing and follow the drama of the refugees with compassion. We would like to convey to the Croatian people and politicians our goodwill and the goodwill of the Turkish National Assembly, as well as our support for your country in its efforts to restore peace. We also respect the Croatian decision to cancel the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate. We believe that West Europe has failed to show a genuine will to oppose ethnic cleaning and the blue helmets have not brought real peace but have maintained an illusory one and have protected the aggressors, the head of the Turkish delegation and of Turkey's special study mission for Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

Adding to his statement, his host, Zarko Domljan, the vice president of the assembly and chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee, said:

[Begin Domljan recording] We understand our Turkish colleagues' interest for peace in the Balkans because that is an issue of security, stability, and peace further afield in Europe too. [end recording]

[Perincic] According to Domljan, the Croatian side informed their Turkish guests the reason for cancelling UNPROFOR's mandate. UNPROFOR must leave because it has failed to implement the UN Security Council resolutions and has allowed ethnic cleansing to continue. We ask for our friends' understanding for our pressure on the Serbs in the occupied Croatian areas in order to end the aggression. Their current policy, under Slobodan Milosevic's influence, is unacceptable and must

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be defeated either by military or political pressure. The crisis in the region will end then too, Domljan said. We are offering the Serbs in the occupied areas all civil and ethnic rights, but we will not allow the negotiations to continue for decades. Domljan added that the embargo on the import of arms to Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina had created an imbalance to Serb advantage. Unless a military balance is reestablished, the Balkans will be a constant source of instability, he also stressed.

### Adviser Rejects Confederate Element of Z-4 Plan

*AU0902185895 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Feb 95 p 2*

[Article by Miroslava Rozankovic: "Z-4 Plan Unacceptable"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The Z-4 [Zagreb Four] plan is unacceptable to the Croatian state. The autonomous form in fact conceals the federalization of the state of Croatia. In simple terms, this plan would give the Serbs a state within a state, which is contrary to the Croatian Constitution and the Constitutional Law on Human Rights and the Rights of National Minorities," said Smiljko Sokol, professor of constitutional law and special legal affairs adviser to the president of the Republic of Croatia, at a press conference on Friday.

Explaining why the form and content of the recently issued draft of the Z-4 agreement are unacceptable, he pointed out that even the title indicates that the agreement, if it is accepted by both sides, would in fact be concluded between two completely equal entities, the Republic of Croatia and the "republic of Serb Krajina," which would, in legal terms, mean the recognition of the so-called Krajina and the aggression against the state of Croatia, Sokol explained.

"This would mean that the Serb national minorities in Croatia could prove that their unit, called the 'Autonomous Serb Krajina' in the draft agreement, united with the Republic of Croatia willingly, transferring to it a part of its sovereignty. It follows that this would be an agreement between two peoples, by which the sovereign authority in the state of Croatia is divided. In that sense, this agreement would not be a constitutional agreement between two equal entities, as the title says, but it would instead become a quasi-confederate agreement," explained Professor Sokol, emphasizing that he, as an expert in constitutional law, claims that "if this paper were to be adopted, it would assume superconstitutional power."

According to him, Article 15 of the Z-4 plan absolutely limits the Croatian state sovereignty and the constitutional authority of the Croatian Parliament. In more specific terms, it says that "changes in the Constitution, the constitutional law, and the entire Croatian legislation, which will have been made in accordance with the agreement, cannot be changed later without the consent of the legislative body of the so-called Krajina, and without the participation of the so-called Serb committee in the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia. This element of demanding consent is even more than what is present in federal states regarding changes to the constitution of a federal state. In the theory of constitutional law, this is unambiguously considered a highly confederate element," explained Sokol.

He believes that the contents of the Z-4 plan are unacceptable to Croatia. Namely, the first part contains extreme contradictions to the fundamental regulations in the Croatian Constitution, which states that the Republic of Croatia is an integral and indivisible democratic and social state. "The first part of the agreement—under the subtitle of 'Autonomous Serb Krajina'—proposes the forming of a Serb federal unit that would have a quasi-confederate position, with which, contrary to the Croatian Constitution, the integral state of Croatia would be reorganized into a two-nation federation. This would also imply a change in the status of the Serbs in Croatia—from the position of a national minority into that of a nation, even a constituent nation, which includes the right to self-determination. It is my firm opinion that, from the political point of view, this is in fact providing legal ground for the secession of the Serb federal unit. This would be a stage in actualizing the memorandum on Greater Serbia."

He particularly emphasized that the right according to which the "Autonomous Serb Krajina" could conclude international agreements, with some minor limitations, is a highly confederate element. "The Z-4 plan proposes the organization of a state within a state. The Serbs would thus be given their own state in Croatia. It would not be an autonomous unit, but instead a federal, even quasi-confederate one. However, I believe that this draft agreement should not be underestimated, since it is clear that this paper was a test of how far it was possible to go in negotiations with Croatia. There can be no federalization of Croatia, no state within a state. The Croatian people and the citizens of Croatia will decide upon the form of reintegration through their legitimately elected representatives," Professor Sokol concluded.

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### ID Card Law Adopted Without Albanian Deputies

*LD0902175695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1703 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—After yesterday's adjournment of the parliamentary session of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], following an incident in which an independent ethnic Albanian deputy attempted to speak in the unofficial language of Albanian, work resumed this afternoon and a law on new identity cards was approved, but without ethnic Albanian deputies being present.

The controversial law envisages that the new ID card for the time being does not bear state symbols but has the citizen's nationality in two languages.

After the decision by all ethnic Albanian deputies to leave the session of parliament (there are 19 of them in all), Abdurahman Aliti, the leader of the single nationality Party of Democratic Prosperity, tendered his written resignation as one of the deputy speakers of parliament.

He is "dissatisfied with and disgusted by the actions and approach of the government" regarding the status and rights of ethnic Albanians in the FYROM, as well as with and by the way in which parliament works.

According to him, in parliament voting is what is crucial and not democratic dialogue, and he was forced to resign "as a warning sign." [passage omitted]

### Albanian Deputies Stage Assembly Walkout

*AU0902213895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[Telephone report by Ibadete Hajrullahu from Skopje]

[FBIS Translated Text] The parliament of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] endorsed a law on passports today, in which only the name could be written in the mother tongue. The Albanian deputies who insisted that Albanian be sanctioned as an equal language with Macedonian were voted down, and they walked out of the Macedonian Assembly session as a sign of protest.

Meanwhile, the assembly's deputy chairman, Abdurrahman Haliti, handed in his irrevocable resignation.

[Hajrullahu] The demand of Albanian deputies for the Albanian language to have equal status with the Macedonian language was considered to be unrealizable and anticonstitutional. That is why Albanians considered the aforementioned law to be discriminating, a partial solution, unacceptable, etc. Thus, in a sign of dissatisfaction that the amendments put forward and solutions offered through the force of arguments and other reasons were ignored, and particularly the way yesterday's session was suspended only because Albanian was spoken, which according to the assembly's regulation cannot be contested, the Albanian deputies of three parliamentary groups walked out of this session of the Macedonian Assembly.

Abdurrahman Haliti handed in an irrevocable resignation from the post of deputy chairman in the Macedonian Assembly. Dissatisfaction with the way that the assembly approaches problems that carry weight in international relations are among his reasons.

Unless a minimum consensus for fundamental issues of national equality is reached, the assembly is not productive and will not continue further. On the other hand, international relations will be worsened further and the political climate will be strained.

### DPS President Regrets Policy on Ethnic Issues

*LD0902202595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—Dragisa Miletic, president of the Democratic Party of Serbs [DPS] in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], today accused the Macedonian authorities of taking advantage of the Serbian people's peaceful and constructive approach to resolving controversial ethnic issues in this republic.

Speaking in Skopje, Miletic explained to journalists that by entering into "a suspicious political coalition with ethnic Albanians" the FYROM authorities have reached an impasse, despite all warnings.

Unlike the Serbs, who had a status of a nation in Macedonia before the collapse of the former Yugoslavia, Macedonian Albanians are waging an offensive political campaign, and even openly demanding to be given rights which are not in the Constitution, as confirmed by their initiatives for an ethnic university, bilingual identity documents, a status of a constituent nation in Macedonia... [ellipses as received].

Concerning education, Miletic recalled that the DPS insists on respect for constitutional categories and the right to preschool, elementary, and secondary education conducted in the maternal tongue, i.e., Serbian.

In the opinion of DPS leaders, the present demands by the Albanians to illegally set up a university are "masterminded by the U.S.-Turkish lobby." [passage omitted]

### RILINDJA Newsman on Deportations by Skopje

*95P20461A Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 21 Jan 95 pp 4-5*

[Interview with Ramush Tahiri, RILINDJA correspondent in FYROM, by I. Mehmeti; place and date not given: "Deportation—In No Way Advantageous for Macedonia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT] Ramush Tahiri is the permanent correspondent for RILINDJA and BUJKU in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM]. For two years, he has had credentials and other documents issued by the Macedonian authorities permitting him to exercise his profession as a journalist throughout the state.

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From October 1991 to August 1992, he was vice president of the government of the Republic of Kosova. On the morning of 24 December 1994, the Macedonian police arrested him at his home and took him away for 60 hours of interrogations. All the delegates of the Kosova Assembly who were arrested in the same action were deported; he was the only one to remain in Macedonia. Recently, he wrote an open letter about these events to the Macedonian minister of interior, Dr. Ljubomir Frckovski, that was published by the Albanian- and Macedonian-language media.

We talked to Tahiri about the arrests and deportations, about the background and consequences of such actions, about the agreement between Kosovo and Macedonia, about the involvement of the Albanians, about his work as a journalist for RILINDJA in Macedonia, and about his future status.

[Mehmeti] Colleague Ramush, the Macedonian police arrested you, along with 20 delegates of the Kosova Assembly; held you for questioning; and, finally, released you. How and why did this happen?

[Tahiri] A total of 23 people were arrested by the Macedonian security services from 0200 to 0500 on Saturday, 24 December 1994, including 19 delegates of the Kosova Assembly, one administrative employee of the Assembly, and one RILINDJA correspondent in Macedonia, who were handed over, in handcuffs, to the Serbian police in Tabanovc by the Macedonian authorities. The chairman of the Assembly, Iljaz Ramajli, was deported to Albania; and only I remained in Skopje, with my family—as they told me: "to continue my work as a journalist."

I do not know why all this happened and of what benefit it was to Macedonia. But it is a fact that we were here for two years by agreement (in the case of the delegates) and on assignment—that is: for the purpose of work (in the case of the newsmen). It is a fact that this is not a routine action or, even less, an independent act of the police. The top leaders in Macedonia decided to take this action, and the reasons are political.

[Mehmeti] The responsible authorities in Macedonia say they are not aware that "functionaries and activists of states or autonomies" have permission to stay here. They say this was a routine action of removing foreign citizens who are not permitted to stay in Macedonia.

[Tahiri] Let me give you an example: The people who arrested us told my family and my colleague Bedri Sadiku's family to ask the Macedonian Ministry of Interior for information about us. Our families went to the ministry each day to get information, but the ministry said they did not have any information on us, and that they did not have any record of having arrested anyone with our names. I was released and my colleague was deported but the ministry kept on saying they had no information on us.

It is not true that this was a routine, chance, incident, considering the time it took place (2 A.M.), the police employed (squads with three to four members) to arrest a single person, and the fact that the arrest took place at a specific address and that the persons arrested were sought by first name and last name, and, lastly, in light of the fact that the arrests were based on the investigation the Macedonian organs carried out while gathering data on the political and governmental activity of Kosovo organs and confiscating material.

It would be absurd and very naive for us to testify that there was an agreement between the leaders of Kosovo and Macedonia in regard to our stay here. But the Macedonian organs know that I—and not only I—can find proof of this. We can show where and how this occurred, how the system operated, who was responsible for it, how information was exchanged, etc. Up to now, we have not had any complaints about our treatment here, since our arrival in June 1992.

[Mehmeti] Why did the Macedonian organs act like this and why do they deny today what they did yesterday?

[Tahiri] I can only guess. I should mention that the case of journalist Bedri Sadiku is a special one but I considered it along with the others. For two years, he was accredited by the Ministry of Information and the parliament of Macedonia. He has a work permit and a residence permit from Macedonia. These are indicated on his passport. However, he was deported to Serbia, even though he had returned from Serbia normally and legally only two days earlier. They also prohibited him from going to Macedonia for five years. With no justification. The procedure by which a state revokes the accreditation of a foreign journalist is known. Sadiku's accreditation was not revoked because there was no reason for this.

[Mehmeti] What were the complaints you made to the Macedonian organs?

[Tahiri] The fact that the agreement in regard to temporary residence here was violated unilaterally and in a brutal and shabby manner; the fact that helpless individuals were handed over to the Serbian organs because none of them had Yugoslav passports but they did have Albanian passports; the fact that I was forcibly arrested and detained for questioning for activity that does not concern the state of Macedonia. This is an unprecedent case of political persecutees being handed over to another state that is pursuing them. The fact that notes, documents and various items were confiscated and not returned; the arrest of families—wives, children—who went to visit the delegates legally and with a temporary residence permit; the fact that the organs did not comply with the procedure or the laws of Macedonia; the fact that they carried out raids without witnesses and confiscated articles without keeping a record; the fact that the investigations took place without the presence of a lawyer and that the persons were under arrest for more than 60 hours, etc.

Someone will give a report of all these violations in a state where the law functions and is observed, and this will cause a great uproar.

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[Mehmeti] However, it appears that you people who have been arrested and deported will not be able to do anything any more.

[Tahiri] So it seems. However, we are going public on the issue. We are making the facts and arguments public. We are giving testimony to various international institutions and to professional organizations of journalists.

We do not yet have a state that could prompt a diplomatic reaction, that could protect us and that would initiate a procedure through international mechanisms. However, we are building a state, and soon it will be fully operative. It is our right to demand explanations at any time. We must demand explanations because our political activists, who are extraordinarily important for our movement, were treated like criminals.

[Mehmeti] In your letter you mentioned that there might be incompatibilities between the professional and political structures of the Macedonian police force. What are your views on this and what is the basis for your conclusion?

[Tahiri] My conclusion is based on my analysis that the deportation of delegates has not been good for Macedonia. This action aroused the indignation of the entire Albanian people and chilled relations between Macedonians and Albanians. Macedonia will be criticized by international institutions for this action. There has been no proven evidence that the persons who were deported worked on or prepared anything against Macedonia and its interests. On the contrary, the opposite was proven.

Before photojournalist Milazim Salihu was arrested—or, rather, kidnapped—in Skopje and held for five days, the Macedonian police took his "Opel Cadet" car and it has not been returned to him yet. When Kosova parliament deputy Xhelal Canziba was kidnapped and held under arrest for six days, 72,000 German marks were taken from him and given to the Serbian police, even though he had a Bosnian passport and Macedonian work and residence permits.

The Macedonian police are constantly spying on and watching the work of Albanian newsmen. All the policemen belonged to the same team of Macedonian security officers whom we correspondents knew quite well when they arrested us.

It is a domestic issue, but as a newsman who has been working here for two years, I can say that there has been no purge of the security organs, after the split from the former Yugoslavia. In the questions they asked me, the old ways of thinking, political nostalgias, etc. were very evident.

[Mehmeti] It is said that not all the delegates were deported and some of them are still in Skopje.

[Tahiri] Some 14 delegates of the Kosova Assembly remain in Skopje with the same status as the others who were deported earlier. The Macedonian police—that is, the people responsible for this task—have their names, addresses and telephone numbers. On this basis, they can be jailed and deported whenever the Macedonian officials so desire. In the meantime, six of these delegates went to Albania.

The Macedonian organs did not arrest them, perhaps so they might use, as an alibi, the argument that these delegates left Macedonia "because they were involved in the country's internal affairs."

[Mehmeti] How do you explain this action as a whole?

[Tahiri] As an expression of the nervousness of the Macedonian leaders in regard to: the opening of the University of Tetovo; the impossibility of stopping this; the support that university has from the entire Albanian world; the support Dr. Ibrahim Rugova has given to the University.

Then there is the attempt to prohibit communication among Albanians, as well as the fear of a just solution of the Kosovo problem and the fear of the collapse of the concept of the state of Macedonia based on Macedonian nationality.

[Mehmeti] Has the distributuion of RILINDJA been prohibited in Macedonia?

[Tahiri] For all practical purposes, it has, without any formal decision, since 17 December, when 1,500 copies of the newspaper were confiscated by the Macedonian police in Struga, when the salaries of the three correspondents were confiscated. With the deportation of my colleague Bedriu Sadiku, the raiding of the correspondents' office, the confiscation of the material found there, and the seizure of the equipment and the key to the office, it has become virtually impossible to work as a journalist from here.

[Mehmeti] What is your status in Macedonia at the present time?

[Tahiri] I cannot testify that I have been arrested, that I was detained by the police for 60 hours, and that they took various items from me. I cannot testify about the method of investigation. The Macedonian organs did not want to leave any traces. They did not want to respect any legal procedure. They did all this to show that they could do it. The citizen had no chance to defend his integrity and dignity. Not even a single telephone call was possible. Even the delegates' five-or-six-year-old children were arrested and held for hours in the police station, only because they were their children.

I do not know what will happen in the future. Whether I will be deported or will be instructed to leave Macedonia will depend on the officials here. It is certain that conditions do not exist for working and living here, where a person can be taken from his home at 0300 whenever the police wishes and dispatched to an unknown destination without anyone being informed about his fate and without having an opportunity to seek an explanation.

[Additional questions] [Mehmeti] What did the police ask you during the "informative conversation"?

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[Tahiri] Almost exclusively about my work as vice president of the Government of Kosova. About my political activity. About my contacts with foreign diplomats. They read and translated the notes they found in my house. No team questioned me for more than 10 minutes. The teams changed constantly. I was sure the conversation was being recorded and watched on a monitor, and that instructions were being given from another room. The people who questioned me did not have any information or knowledge in regard to what they were asking me and they could not evaluate my responses. They needed continuing guidance, and kept returning to the questions they had asked earlier, seeking explanations and additional information.

[Mehmeti] In a way, you were lucky. Although you were under arrest longer than the others, you were not deported but were returned to your family in Skopje. Nevertheless, you are still trying to express your opinions and to "make an issue" out of the case. How can this be explained?

[Tahiri] What else should I be doing. Should I thank the Macedonian authorities for letting me live with my family? Did anyone have any information about me and about others, about our work, and about the improper behavior in this case? No. Therefore, I have to make the case known to public opinion. The others, who are in Kosovo, do not have an opportunity to do this. I am here and I can confront the situation openly and present arguments in the country in which the events took place.

I learned that my colleague Bedri Sadiku and the chairman of the Kosova Assembly, Iljaz Ramajli, were arrested. It seems that, at first, the authorities decided Ramajli and I would be deported to Albania while Bedri Sadiku thought, to the very end, that they would be returned to Skopje, where his family is. They threatened to send me to Serbia because, according to them, I was "just a citizen of Serbia." Then they told me they had decided to deport me to Albania because, as they said, "if we hand him over to Serbia, there will be some consequences, and certain other people will be put in prison, because the Serbs have methods to force you to say things that you do not want to say." They told me they would let me visit my family now and then "because we know how close you are to your children." I was told that if my family were to go to where I was deported, they would publicly take away their Macedonian citizenship, stressing the reason.

I am telling you about all these procedures not to prove that I keep track of details but to show the work methods and the blackmail of the security organs.

They told me that the intervention of structures of the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] was decisive in keeping me from being deported, but I know that the PDP is committed to the release of all of us.

It seems that the fact that my wife and two children are citizens with permanent residency in Macedonia had an influence on the decision to keep me here. If I were deported, there would have to be concrete evidence of activity that I carried out here against the Macedonian state.

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## Federal

### Lilic Calls For Italian Role in Peace Process

*BR0902154195 Turin LA STAMPA in Italian 9 Feb 95 p 7*

[Interview with Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by Antonio Acone in Belgrade; date not given: "Invitation From Belgrade to Rome"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation in the former Yugoslav territories appears to have reached a historic turning point with a cease-fire that could be respected. Here are the replies of Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] (Serbia, Vojvodina, and Kosovo).

President Lilic is 42 years old. An engineer by training, he has had various professional and political jobs. In 1992 he was appointed president by the Serbian National Assembly, and on 25 June 1993 he was elected president of the FRY.

[Acone] The Contact Group has invited Italy to join. What do you think of this?

[Lilic] Personally I believe that Italy has a very important role to play in the region in which the FRY is situated. In particular when considering past cooperation between the two countries and because of our trust in Rome. Obviously we have to take into account the interests which Italy might have toward the other republics. In any event I have to confess that I have been a little surprised by the relative passivity shown by the Italian authorities throughout the crisis which has struck the former Yugoslav territories.

[Acone] Are you now expecting a more active attitude?

[Lilic] I would very much like the Italians to be more active than in the past, given that they know our mentality better than the other neighbors. I hope that the government will be able to find the answer to all the Italian problems and that it can also take a part in solving our problems, for the common good.

[Acone] We have had the Carter mission and then the recent cease-fire. What is the situation in the region today?

[Lilic] Recently there have been various initiatives, both from Belgrade and through the action of the Contact Group, and, obviously, the mission of former President Carter. Today we are much closer to achieving peace and creating normal living conditions in all the former Yugoslav territories. The recently signed cease-fire accord has better chances of being respected than the previous ones. We hope that this will be the rule in the new year, not only for our own sakes, but also for the Balkans, and for Europe.

[Acone] What could relations be with the other republics of the former Yugoslavia?

[Lilic] I would like to remind you that, for the global peaceful solution of the crisis, the FRY—through its Constitution and the parliamentary declaration of 27 April 1992—has resolutely declared that it has no territorial pretensions toward the other republics. Likewise we are ready to resolve any open questions between ourselves and we would like to restore ties as they existed before, on the basis of mutual interests.

### Yugoslav Red Cross Reports on Past Year's Aid

*LD0902185995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1605 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 9 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Red Cross on Thursday said it would this year provide aid for about 420,000 refugees of various nationalities from the war zones in the former Yugoslavia.

As many as one-quarter of the total number of refugees in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are non-Serbs.

Yugoslav Red Cross Secretary-General Rade Dubajic said his organization would also help about half a million Yugoslavs living on subsistence level and send humanitarian aid to Serbs in the Bosnian Serb republic and the republic of Serb Krajina.

Head of the Belgrade Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Charles Henry Bazocha on Wednesday said all refugees in the Yugoslav territory enjoyed equal treatment. International humanitarian organizations have this year reduced by 30 percent their funds for relief aid to Yugoslavia although the number of refugees and the poor is currently growing, and the trend is expected to continue.

Dubajic said the UNHCR had artificially halved the number of refugees and now planned to provide humanitarian aid for only 220,000 persons. He said the European Union Humanitarian Bureau had last year sent 320,000 packages to families providing shelter to refugees but the delivery had stopped in January.

Until last month, the UNHCR was also helping about 70,000 poor Yugoslavs but the action has now ceased.

The number of Yugoslavs living on subsistence level has grown as a result of the U.N. sanctions imposed against Yugoslavia in May 1992 because many factories were forced to lay off the workforce with token pay. The workers have been receiving 80 percent of the lowest pay, which in January reached no more than some 60 dollars according to the official exchange rate.

The European Union Humanitarian Bureau does not plan to provide family packages in the first four months of this year, and only the refugees living with other families will in the future receive significantly smaller monthly packages. Dubajic said the greatest effort would therefore be invested this year in opening soup kitchens

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for about 27,000 people without means. he said his organization also planned to open more pharmacies to make it easier for the refugees to get free medicine.

## Serbia

### Seselj Advocates 'Partitioned' FYROM

*AU0902152995 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian 6-12 Feb 95 p 18*

[Interview with Serbian Radical Party leader Vojislav Seselj by Yuriy Aslanov; place and date not given: "Vojislav Seselj: If the West Had Not Helped the Muslims, the War Would Have Been Over Long Ago"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Aslanov] Mr. Seselj, why were you in prison?

[Seselj] I was imprisoned as the most dangerous opponent of Slobodan Milosevic's regime. Our party is the most outspoken opponent of his policy. [passage omitted]

[Aslanov] When will the war end?

[Seselj] The answer to that does not depend on us, but on the West. The West supports the Muslims in Bosnia. Without this support, they would not last a single day. As far as we are concerned, we will fight to the last drop of blood. We will accept a peace proposal only if they agree to return to the old situation. [passage omitted]

[Aslanov] This conflict affects relations among all Balkan states to differing degrees. How do you think relations between our two countries will develop?

[Seselj] The Serbs and Bulgarians are two close people, the closest in the Balkans. We have experienced everything—good and bad alike. We have a rather common history and our solidarity dates back to the days of the Turkish yoke. We also had periods of some hatred and confrontation. Both the Serbian and Bulgarian Governments have been responsible for this.

However, we are striving towards a lasting friendship and cooperation with the Bulgarian people and state. Our party has never adhered to interference in Bulgaria's internal affairs. We respect the legal government of the party that won the Bulgarian elections in a democratic manner without paying any attention to its ideology or its leftist or rightist character.

However, there is a neuralgic point in our relations—I mean Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM].

[Aslanov] What is your opinion on this issue?

[Seselj] We adhere to the "clean hands" policy on this issue. There is no Macedonian nation. They are Bulgarians. However, we have never forced anyone to call himself something that he does not feel he is. In Macedonia, the Bulgarians predominate, but there are also 300,000 Serbs. There also are some Greeks who call themselves Tsintsars and about 700,000 Albanians.

We have always opposed military actions, even when we have been provoked. However, we will not stay put if the Albanian Muslims arm themselves to the teeth, which is indeed taking place. We will also not watch from the sidelines how the Americans are establishing their military presence in Macedonia.

[Aslanov] Do you think that the elimination of the so-called Macedonian issue could abate tension in our relations?

[Seselj] We recognize two variants—an independent Macedonia and a partitioned Macedonia. It would be good if Macedonia remains an independent state, but personally, I do not think that this is realistic.

Rather, Macedonia should be partitioned. Bulgaria should take what is hers—eastern Macedonia. Greece should take the Aegean part, while the Skopje region should go to Serbia. Albania also has certain justified claims.

(We look at the map above Seselj's desk)

Look, from here, southeast of Skopje, to the border—this is Bulgarian Macedonia. To the south of this region, there are a few Tsintsars, also called Greeks. To the southwest, there are Albanians, but their regions are small and densely populated. To the north of Skopje—this is Serbian Macedonia.

[Aslanov] So you think that there are two variants, with one being more realistic than the other?

[Seselj] There is also a third variant, namely, incorporating Macedonia as a component part of Yugoslavia. We could negotiate on the basis of any variant, as long as we note the realities.

However, we will not oppose the right of the people who live in Macedonia to call themselves the Macedonian nation—if they have the necessary scientific justification.

[Aslanov] What about the Bulgarians in the Western Outlands?

[Seselj] The anti-Bulgarian propaganda there is a remnant of the old Tito-communist Yugoslavia.

However, the present policy in Dimitrovgrad and Bosilegrad, where the Bulgarians are mainly living, is exclusively conducted by the Socialist Party of Serbia. I have visited those places, and I told the people—you are Bulgarians and you must have all the rights that all other minorities have. We think that they must have a Bulgarian administration, Bulgarian press, books from Bulgaria, Bulgarian schools, and private Bulgarian radio and television. In our country, the Socialists control everything—television, radio, schools. We support the privatization of everything that could be privatized, and first

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of all, the mass media. Therefore, when I say that the Bulgarians must have their own newspapers, radio, and television, I mean private media that are not controlled by the Socialists.

We also adhere to having a fully open border with Bulgaria.

[Aslanov] You have been called the Serbian Zhirinovskiy. Do you accept this comparison?

[Seselj] (Laughing) Perhaps he should be called the Russian Seselj....

We know each other. There is a certain similarity, but there also are significant differences. I do not accept the comparison. He is a radical. He travels throughout the world and reshapes borders without any justification.

[Aslanov] The people are saying that you adhere to forming a Balkan axis?

[Seselj] It is true that I support a lasting axis between Sofia, Belgrade, and Athens, but not in the sense Milosevic professes, namely, a Balkan confederation of the Tito-Dimitrov type.

I mean a purely economic integration: a custom-free zone, a customs union, freedom of ideas, free investments, free cultural exchange, and of course, a military integration. Most probably, in the near future, we will all have to oppose Turkish expansion.

[Aslanov] When will you go to prison again?

[Seselj] (Laughing) Certainly very soon. The authorities will not reconcile themselves to our principled position and to the fact that our influence is growing constantly.

### Marjanovic: Economic Growth Despite Sanctions

*LD0902193395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1721 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Lazarevac, Feb. 9 (TANJUG)—Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic has said that Yugoslavia has turned a drastic drop of economic activity into an economic growth despite the sanctions against the country.

Speaking at the opening of a new opencut in the Kolubara coal mine, Central Serbia, on Thursday, Marjanovic said that last December's industrial growth was 30 percent up on January 1994, while agricultural production was four percent up.

Marjanovic said trade turnover was more than 33 percent up on 1993, while wages, after a several-year decrease, had increased eleven times. Budgetary revenues and expenditures have been balanced and about 200,000 people have found jobs again, he said. Such results have created a stable and solid basis for even better results in 1995, he said.

'The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, according to a World Bank report, ranks high when speaking of the achieved economic stability,' he said.

'The basic goal of our policy in 1995 is an economic growth in tve conditions of stable prices. This means that we remain firmly committed to the current economic policy orientation, the stable monetary policy and budgetary restraint,' he said. 'For the first quarter of the year, the state has planned expenditures on a 15 percent lower level than that allowed by the budget,' he said.

Marjanovic also said a new bill, that should put an end to monopolistic behavior in the market and measures of preventing parallel illegal economy, would be launched next week.

### Message From Association of Serbs to RSK

*LD0902191595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 7 [date as received] Feb (TANJUG)—The Executive Committee of the Association of Serbs from the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and the Republic of Croatia sent a message today [as received] to the leadership, people and army of the RSK, in connection with the most recent threats of war coming from the Croatian leadership.

The message says that the people of the RSK are again faced with the difficult trials and tribulations of defending their bare existence and their hearths, and preserving what has been achieved through fighting.

It says Pavelic's ustasha state is rising up again in an even worse form, and sends word to the Croatian leaders to think carefully about what would happen if a decision is made to go to war.

The RSK will not be defending itself only in peripheral municipalities, with local forces, because all Serb people are behind it.

The message says that this is not a matter only of the constitutional and international obligations of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Montenegro, but above all of the moral and patriotic duties of all Serb people to defend their brothers, the message of association members reads.

### Opposition to Recognition of Croatia, Bosnia

*AU0902183195 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[Report by Biljana Jeremic]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the new round of negotiations announced by French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe. the Serbian side has to maintain a unified front because no one has the right to defend the interests of just one part of the Serbian people. Positions must be coordinated so that the Serbian side can have legitimate representatives,

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said Vojislav Andric, New Democracy council secretary and vice president of the Serbian Assembly.

Commitment to the peace option is growing in the Serbian Republic, as is the awareness that the agony of war cannot be a lasting state. The Pale leadership will be forced to adjust its position and to take into account at future negotiations the entire Serbian national interest, Andric stressed.

New Democracy believes that in this phase of relations between the former Yugoslav republics Serbia cannot and should not recognize Croatia and the former Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, because this would not stop the war from continuing. There can be no lasting peace before a compromise is found and reason prevails on all sides, Andric concluded.

### Coalition Urges Coordination With Bosnian Serbs

*LD0902224795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2141 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 9 (TANJUG)—The New Democracy Party club in the Serbian legislature invited Thursday Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serb leaders to coordinate positions prior to a new peace conference. The New Democracy Party and the governing Socialist Party of Serbia are coalition partners in the Serbian legislature.

Deputy speaker of the Serbian legislature Vojislav Andric of the New Democracy party told a press conference in Belgrade that the Serbs should present a united front at the conference, which has been proposed by French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe. Andric said that Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic had been invited to the conference, and so Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic should attend too.

Juppe has proposed a peace conference attended by Izetbegovic and Presidents Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia. Karadzic said Tuesday that the Bosnian Serb republic would not recognize the validity of decisions taken at the proposed new conference on the former Yugoslavia if they were made in the absence of Bosnian Serb representatives.

Karadzic ruled out the possibility of Izetbegovic representing the Bosnian Serbs at the summit.

The New Democracy Party club said Serbia could not and must not agree to recognize Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, as that would not stop the war, while everything should be done to stop the war and find a lasting solution for the former Yugoslavia.

Opposition Serbian Liberal Party official Zoran Cvijic said Thursday that the initiative for a new peace conference on the former Yugoslavia was unlikely to succeed if Karadzic were left out of the talks.

'Without including representatives of the Bosnian Serbs in the talks, there can be no restoration of peace in Bosnia and Juppe's initiative will remain a dead letter,' Cvijic told a news conference. The same sentiment was voiced Wednesday by the leaders of the Democratic Party and the Serbian Radical Party, Zoran Djindjic and Vojislav Seselj.

## Kosovo

### Rugova Briefs UK Officials on Social Situation

*AU1002065595 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 9 Feb 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] In Prishtina today, the president of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, received the deputy chief of the sector for former Yugoslavia at the British Foreign Office, Anthony Smith, who was accompanied by the vice consul of the British Embassy in Belgrade, Mr. Collier.

The Foreign Office official conveyed greetings from British Minister Douglas Hogg to President Rugova.

During the conversation, President Rugova briefed the British diplomat on the overall situation in Kosova, focusing on the mounting repression of the Serbian regime and the increasingly grave social and economic situation.

Speaking about their political project, Dr. Rugova stressed that an independent and neutral Kosova is an optimal solution guaranteeing long-term peace in the region.

President Rugova said that an independent and neutral state of Kosova, open to Albania and Serbia, would guarantee all the rights and interests of Serbs in Kosova. If the concept of confederal ties proves to be worthwhile for the other peoples in the territory of former Yugoslavia, the Albanians in Kosova, too, would want to establish ties with Albania, Rugova underlined.

An international civil administration for a certain time would prevent an open conflict, normalize life and institutions, and create the preliminary conditions for resolving the Kosova issue through negotiations and mediation by an authorized third party, President Rugova stressed.

The deputy chief of the sector for former Yugoslavia at the British Foreign Office, Mr. Smith, expressed his country's distress over the situation in Kosova, stressing that it is being followed continually by the Foreign Office and other British institutions.

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